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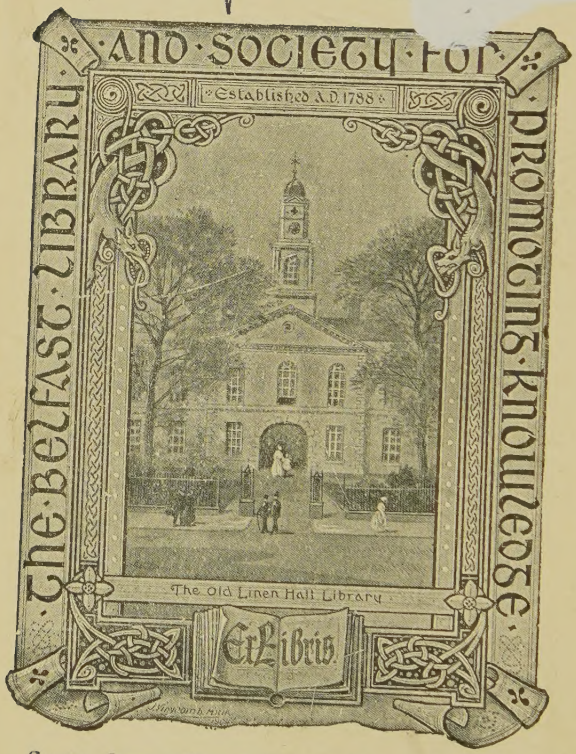

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WILLIAM BYRD

WILLIAM BYRD

A Short Account of his Life and Work

by

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PREFACE

WILLIAM BYRD died in 1623, and the three-hundredth anniversary of this event is being celebrated this year at a time when a great revival of interest in Elizabethan music is being shown. Many people to-day are asking the bald question 'Who was Byrd?' and a very general desire to know more about him and his music has brought into prominence the fact that there is no book in existence on the subject. The only printed information about Byrd is contained in the two admirable articles by Mr. W. Barclay Squire in Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, in a single chapter of the present author's *English Madrigal Composers*, and in the Prefaces to Vol. II of the Carnegie edition of *Tudor Church Music* and Vol. XIV of the *English Madrigal School*.

The present little book is intended to serve as a brief summary of Byrd's life and work. It lays no claim whatever to deal with the subject in a critical or exhaustive manner. So much research

work has still to be done, and so large a number of the known works have still to be scored, that some years must yet elapse before a critical account of Byrd's work can be given and an exhaustive list of his compositions compiled. The occurrence of the tercentenary has made it necessary that something should be attempted, and if the author has been over-bold in making the attempt, he craves the indulgence of his readers. He frankly confesses that the book is no more than a stopgap and he makes no claim that the lists of compositions given under the various headings are complete; there may be omissions; and further research may show that there are some duplications. Yet these lists, with all their imperfections, may be found instructive and helpful, while the amazing quantity of Byrd's work will come as a revelation to almost all musicians, for few can have realized that there are more than 500 of his compositions known to exist.

The author desires to acknowledge with gratitude the great help he has received from many of his friends in compiling the lists as well as in other matters. He is especially indebted to

Mr. W. Barclay Squire, who was the first to discover the principal facts of Byrd's life, for various suggestions and also for lending him a photograph of the composer's original Will. Also to Mr. Gerald Cooper, who placed at his disposal a carefully compiled thematic card-index of the virginal pieces giving all the sources of the text. Also to Mr. H. B. Collins for permission to quote from his important papers read to the Musical Association in 1913 and 1917, as well as for his valuable assistance in drawing up the list of those Latin motets that have survived only in manuscript. For the exact date of Byrd's Lincoln appointment his acknowledgements are due to Dr. Grattan Flood. To his associates on the Carnegie editorial committee, Miss Townsend Warner and the Rev. A. Ramsbotham, and also to Mr. Godfrey Arkwright, he is indebted for much advice and help, for which he cordially thanks them.

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I

PERSONAL HISTORY

THE greatest crisis in the entire history of Church music was precipitated by a decree of the Council of Trent in 1563, which practically ruled out of use most of the music which had been written up to that time for the services of the Church. The reason for this drastic resolution was that it had become a common practice to build up a piece of Church music, and more especially the music of the Mass, on some well-known popular melody, treated as a *canto fermo*. These melodies were usually of secular songs and were often associated with words of a frivolous and ribald character. As a natural consequence, during the performance of Divine Service many members of the congregation, and even some members of the choir, would sing the secular words which they so closely associated with the familiar melody. It can cause no surprise that in these circumstances the ecclesiastical authorities took steps to rid the services of so gross a form of abuse. The immediate effect was to deliver a stunning blow to Church music from which it might never have recovered. History,

in its various branches, provides many instances of the appearance of the right kind of genius at the exact moment when exceptional gifts are needed for coping with a particular crisis. In this case it was Palestrina who had the rare ability that was needed for designing a new model which should on the one hand satisfy the requirements of the Church, and on the other hand maintain a high level of artistic excellence. In both these directions he succeeded in full measure, for the *Missa Papae Marcelli*, which was one of the first-fruits of this special effort, set an entirely new standard of what was dignified and beautiful, as well as what was suitable for Church worship.

A crisis comparable with this, although of course it affected a more limited area, occurred in England as a result of the religious upheaval in the sixteenth century. A direct effect of the Reformation and of the adoption of the Book of Common Prayer in the services of the Church was to create an immediate demand for musical settings of the new English Liturgy, while all the older music written for the Latin rites was practically ruled out. Some attempts were made to adapt the existing music to English use; for instance, English adaptations of two of Taverner's Masses exist which were made in the reign of

Edward VI.[1] But adaptation was tedious and unsatisfactory work; nothing but new settings could adequately meet the requirements. Then, again, the fact that the Latin rites, with varying degrees of secrecy, continued to be used more or less throughout the sixteenth century in this country, caused many of those leading English musicians who continued to compose for the Latin services to feel the effects of the decree of the Council of Trent just as did the Continental composers. Thus it is noteworthy that the Masses of Byrd have no relation to any popular melody, as was the case with Taverner's 'Western Wynde' Mass. From all points of view the state of Church music in England in the second half of the sixteenth century called for the appearance of a genius of the first rank to deal with it. And as regards the setting of the English Liturgy it must be borne in mind that in the matter of 'underlaying' the words an entirely new technique had to be evolved. The call was not made in vain. Greatest among those who responded to it was William Byrd, who in his own time was praised as the 'parent' of British music.[2] It is not for a moment suggested here that Byrd stood alone or carried through this achievement

[1] Bodleian Library Mus. Sch. MSS., e. 420–2.

[2] *Gradualia* by W. Byrd, Lib. II. Ascription by *G. Ga.*

single-handed; but neither did Palestrina stand alone on the Continent; the name of Orlando di Lasso, among others, is one to be mentioned with reverence almost equal to that of Palestrina in respect of music written for the Roman Church shortly after the Council of Trent. In England Tallis, Tye, Merbecke, and Robert Whyte, to name no others, produced work of the first importance for the Latin rites as well as for the new English Liturgy, and these famous composers were writing mature work while Byrd was yet a child. But when the English music of the sixty years which immediately followed the publication of the Book of Common Prayer is reviewed as a whole, the work of Byrd stands out in conspicuous supremacy by sheer force of its variety and originality, as well as by its special qualities of masterly technique, dignity, beauty of phrasing, and fitness of purpose.

Byrd was born in the year 1543, or just possibly in the last month of 1542. This date is arrived at from the statement of his Will, made on the 23rd November 1622, that he was at that date in his eightieth year.

Nothing is known with certainty about his early life until his appointment as organist of Lincoln Cathedral on the 27th February 1562–3,[1]

[1] Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Acts.

when he was no more than twenty years of age. It has been stated that he was a chorister at St. Paul's Cathedral, but there is no evidence of this, and the statement may owe its origin to the fact that two of the St. Paul's choristers at the time bore the surname of Byrd, though neither of them was William. Anthony Wood says that he was 'bred up to musick under Tallis'; and it is likely that this is true, for some colour is given to the idea that Tallis was his master in a set of eulogistic Latin verses by one Ferdinand Richardson, which were printed at the beginning of the *Cantiones Sacrae* of Tallis and Byrd published in 1575.

Byrd was not an uncommon name at this time, especially in Lincolnshire, and the composer's early connexion with Lincoln Cathedral suggests that he was a native of that county. An examination of the contemporary Lincolnshire wills of certain persons of the name of Byrd, seems to point to William Byrd's connexion with a family then settled at Epworth; for the Christian names in that particular family correspond in a suggestive way with those of the composer's children. The Epworth baptismal registers have unfortunately been tampered with in early times and are partly illegible, moreover, those for the year 1543 are missing altogether;

no positive evidence can therefore be cited to support this conjecture. While still at Lincoln Cathedral, William Byrd was married at St. Margaret's-in-the-Close on the 14th September 1568 to Ellen, or Juliana, Birley.

In 1569 he was elected a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and there he shared the duties of organist with Thomas Tallis. The association of Byrd and Tallis was not limited to their joint tenure of this office. Together they held a special patent for printing and selling music and music-paper.[1] This resulted in a loss of 200 marks in the first two years, and in 1577 they petitioned successfully for an annuity from the Crown. Tallis pleaded old age and long service, and Byrd that by his daily attendance in the Queen's service 'he is letted from reaping such commodity by teaching as heretofore he did'.[2] The set of *Cantiones Sacrae* which Tallis and Byrd published jointly has already been mentioned.

Byrd kept his post at Lincoln till 1572 when Thomas Butler was elected organist on his nomination.[3] One of his children was baptized at Lincoln in 1572.

In 1578 Byrd had a house in Harlington, a

[1] See Appendix A.

[2] Hist. MSS. Commission, Salisbury Papers, Pt. ii, p. 155.

[3] Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Acts.

village in West Middlesex, and he lived there for at least fourteen years, for the last of many entries in the Session Rolls of the County of Middlesex referring to Byrd and his wife and servant as recusants is dated the 7th April 1592. The first of these entries concerns 'Juliana Birde wife of William Byrde of Harlington' in 1581. About the year 1593 he became possessed of the remainder of a lease of Stondon Place near Ongar in Essex, and in 1595 he obtained a crown lease of this property. William Shelley, the owner, had been committed to the Fleet Prison for taking part in a Popish plot, and the property had been sequestrated. It is a little strange that Byrd, who himself was constantly fined as a recusant, should have been granted this lease, considering the reason for which the property had been sequestrated from Shelley. For several years about the close of the century Byrd seems to have been almost wholly occupied in legal disputes with Shelley's widow as to the ownership of Stondon. Indeed, this preoccupation may be one of the reasons why Byrd published no music at this period and why also he contributed nothing to 'The Triumphs of Oriana'. The feud with Mrs. Shelley was kept up until her death in 1609, but Byrd, largely in consequence of influential support, including that of James I,

successfully resisted all her efforts to dislodge him. After her death he bought Stondon, and it remained for many years in the possession of his family. The Heralds' Visitation of Essex in 1634[1] duly recorded the Byrd pedigree, beginning with the composer himself, his parentage not being stated; and the Officers of Arms sanctioned the following armorial bearings for the family: Vert, three stags' heads cabossed or, a canton ermine. At the date of this Visitation Stondon was owned by the composer's grandson, Thomas Byrd, son of his eldest son Christopher.

Although Byrd lived at Stondon Place throughout the later years of his life, he also had apartments of some kind in Lord Worcester's London house, for in his Will he bequeathed to his son Thomas 'all my goods in my lodginge in the Earle of Wosters howse in the straund'. Lord Worcester was one of his most powerful patrons, and it may be inferred from this clause in the Will that Byrd was his domestic musician at his house in the Strand. It was usual for musicians holding these domestic appointments to have their own apartments and their private furniture in the great houses; when Wilbye retired from being household musician at Hengrave Hall he spent his last years at Lady Rivers's house at

[1] *Visitation of Essex*, Harl. Soc. xiii. 365.

Colchester, and his furniture in his apartments there formed a special bequest in his Will. No references to Byrd are now to be found among the papers and records of the Somerset family. It was of this Lord Worcester that Queen Elizabeth said that he succeeded in combining what had seemed to her two irreconcilable things, namely, being ' a stiff papist and a good subject '.

Mr. Barclay Squire, to whose researches we owe so much of our knowledge of Byrd's personal history, quotes two contemporary documents in his admirable article on Byrd in Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* with reference to him. One of these consists of the following extract from a letter written by Lord Northumberland to Lord Burghley, endorsed ' Bird of the Chappell ' and dated the 28th February 1579[1]: ' My dere good lorde I amme ernestly required to be a suiter to your l. for this berer m^r^ berde that your lp. wyll haue hime in remẽbrance w^n^ your faver towardes hime seing he cane not inioye that whyche was his firste sutte and granted unto him^e^ I ame the more importenat to yowr l. for that he is my frend and cheffly that he is scolle master to my daughter in his artte the mane is honeste and one whome I knowe your lp. may Comande.'

[1] British Museum Lansdowne MS. 29, No. 38.

The exact circumstances in which this letter was written are not known.

The other reference is in connexion with Byrd's dispute with Mrs. Shelley about Stondon Place. On the 27th October 1608 Mrs. Shelley presented a petition to Lord Salisbury, setting forth eight points of grievance against Byrd, and the document relates that when 'one Petiver' presented Mrs. Shelley's case to him 'the said Bird did give him vile and bitter words'.

The later years of the composer's life were by no means free from personal troubles, for, in addition to the prolonged disputes with the Shelleys, we gather from his Will [1] that a serious difference arose between Byrd and his younger son Thomas. The cause of this family quarrel is not known; it may have been concerned with matters of religious controversy, a subject which brought division into many families at that period. Byrd also alludes to family troubles in his dedicatory address to Lord Northampton, printed in his First Book of *Gradualia* in 1605. But this allusion, which was made in reference to his patron's sympathy, is couched in terms which imply that whatever the trouble may have been, it had passed away.

Byrd died on the 4th July 1623. The fact is

[1] P.C.C. Swann 106, and see Appendix.

recorded in the cheque-book of the Chapel Royal, for he was a 'Gentleman of the Chapel Royal' and held the post of 'Royal Organist', as he is styled on the title-pages of his two sets of *Cantiones Sacrae*, until the day of his death. The place of death is not recorded, but it must almost certainly have been either London or Stondon, and of the two Stondon is the most probable, because an old man of 80 would seldom have been away from his home in those days. In either case he would have been buried in Stondon Churchyard, for this was his particular wish expressed in his Will, his wife having already been buried there. The Stondon parish registers of this date unfortunately do not survive. His children were: (1) Christopher, who married Catherine daughter of Thomas Moore of Bamborough and had a son, Thomas, living at Stondon Place in 1634; (2) Thomas; (3) Elizabeth, who married firstly John Jackson and secondly — Burdett; (4) Rachel, who married firstly — Hook and secondly in 1634 Edward Biggs; by her first husband she had two children, William and Catherine (married to Michael Walton); (5) Mary, who married firstly Henry Hawksworth by whom she had four sons, William, Henry, George, and John, and secondly Thomas Falconbridge.

It has been suggested that the 'William Byrd

alias Borne', who was associated with Henslowe both as an actor and a dramatist, is to be identified with William Byrd the composer. 'Byrd *alias* Borne' is frequently mentioned in Henslowe's diary and also by Alleyn. It was thought that the *alias* might have been adopted by the composer as a nominal device to disguise his identity in consequence of his position as a recusant; it is also rather remarkable that Henslowe's friend Byrd was in the habit of playing old men's parts. Alluring as the theory might be, it is conclusively disproved by a comparison of authentic autographs; the signature on the original Will of the composer at Somerset House differs in fundamental details from that of 'Byrd *alias* Borne', examples of whose signature can be seen at Dulwich College among Alleyn's records.

In his Will Byrd prayed God that he 'may live and dye a true and perfect member of his holy Catholycke Church'. The phrase has not here such an exact meaning as it would have had in later times; for churchmen of various phases of opinion might have used it at that date. It is of course employed in the Book of Common Prayer, not only in the Creed, where the Latin phrase is exactly translated, but in other passages too. It is true that Byrd was frequently summoned as a recusant and that his wife was still

more often in trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities, but his views on religious matters were evidently those of a tolerant and liberal-minded man. It may be that he was one of those many Englishmen who desired a certain measure of reform and no more. It also seems probable that as the progress of events carried reform beyond the limit of their approval, the sympathy of many towards the older rites became more pronounced. But Byrd was in no sense a bigot; and he must have been a man of deep religious feeling, because all the music which he wrote for the Church services, whether Latin or English, is characterized by an extraordinary sincerity and nobility of style, such as could only have been inspired by a clear conviction as to the purpose for which the music was designed. No thought of religious controversy could have been present in the mind of Byrd when composing his three magnificent Masses on the one hand, or the superb 'Great Service', in which he set the English Canticles and Nicene Creed, on the other.

Whatever private disputes and troubles Byrd may have endured, there can be no doubt at all that he was held in the highest esteem and veneration by all the musicians of his own time; and not by musicians only, for the list of patrons to whom his eight published volumes were

dedicated is in itself evidence that he commanded great respect in aristocratic circles. Thus he and Tallis dedicated their joint volume of *Cantiones Sacrae* in 1575 to Queen Elizabeth herself; the first volume of his own *Cantiones Sacrae* was dedicated in 1588 to Lord Worcester, and the second set in 1591 to Lord Lumley. The 1588 *Psalmes, Sonets, and Songs* had Sir Christopher Hatton as their patron; Lord Hunsdon was patron of *Songs of Sundrie Natures* in 1589; the two books of *Gradualia* in 1605 and 1607 were dedicated to Lord Northampton and Lord Petre respectively; and the 1611 book of *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets* to Lord Cumberland.

But the approval of the contemporary musicians is even more interesting than that of the leading nobles; many of these musicians were Byrd's own pupils. He made reference to the fact in the prefatory address in his first set of *Gradualia*, where he wrote of 'complures ex meis in re musica discipulis viris sane ea arte egregie peritis',[1] lamenting that so many of them had already passed away. Morley, who was perhaps the greatest of Byrd's pupils, was one of those who was no longer living when Byrd wrote this, and it was Morley who declared that Byrd was 'never

[1] Many of my pupils in music, men of remarkable skill in that art.

without reverence to be named of the musicians '.[1] Another of his great pupils was Thomas Tomkins, who described him as his 'ancient and much reverenced Master'.[2]

An anonymous admirer signing himself *G. Ga:* wrote an epigram which is printed in the second volume of Byrd's *Gradualia*; in this he calls Byrd 'the parent of British Music'; [3] and the same title was also given jointly to Tallis and Byrd in 1575 when they published their book of *Cantiones Sacrae*. The clerk who recorded Byrd's death in the Chapel Royal cheque-book perhaps had these two references in mind when he added to the bare entry of Byrd's name the significant tribute 'a Father of Musicke'. And gratuitous little comments, such as that which John Baldwin, the Windsor lay-clerk and famous musical scribe, appended to one of Byrd's compositions in the 'Lady Nevell' Virginal Book, all point in the same direction to show that Byrd stood supreme among English musicians in the minds of ordinary people. To Baldwin he was *homo mirabilis*. It was Baldwin, too, who closed his important manuscript collection (*c.* 1600) in the Royal

[1] Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, ed. 1597, p. 117.

[2] Tomkins's *Songs*, No. 14, dedication.

[3] 'Gulielmo Byrde Britannicae Musicae Parenti.'

Music Library, until recently kept at Buckingham Palace but now in the British Museum, with a poem in which he placed Byrd above all the composers of his time, not only English but foreign also. This was no mere beating of the patriotic drum, as some might think, for Baldwin's experience was a wide one, and his collections show him to have been a man of fine taste and knowledge. Moreover, the more closely Byrd's work and that of his Continental contemporaries is examined, the truer does Baldwin's estimate appear; and to say this is in no sense to disparage the work of Palestrina, Orlando di Lasso, Luca Marenzio, and many more; but if we consider Byrd's versatility alone, and the fact that he produced work of the highest class in every field that he explored, it becomes abundantly clear that he did stand above all his contemporaries. Like Palestrina, he wrote magnificently for the Latin rites of the Church. Nor was he behind any of his contemporaries in his capacity for handling ingenious and complex contrapuntal devices such as were in vogue among the Church musicians of the sixteenth century. His contrapuntal skill was astonishing. Like Tallis, Tye, and Robert Whyte, he excelled in music for the English Church whether for the Latin or English rites. Like Marenzio, Wilbye,

and Weelkes, he could write finely in the madrigalian style, not only when treating the severer subjects, where again he stands alone, but also in the lighter vein, as we shall see presently when dealing more closely with this branch of the subject. Like Bull, Gibbons, and Giles Farnaby, he wrote with exceptional fertility of invention for the keyed instruments of his day, yet here again he excelled the others; while for the viols he produced chamber-music which to-day amazes students of musical form when its date is borne in mind.

Two other brief contemporary comments may be quoted. The first is attached to a quotation from Cicero as a comment upon it, and is to be seen in a manuscript dated 1581–5[1]: 'Cicero ad Atticum, lib. 4—" Britannici belli exitus expectatur: etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in ea insula, neque ullam spem praedae, nisi ex mancipiis, ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut musica eruditos expectare." *Unus Birdus omnes Anglos ab hoc convicio prorsus liberat.*' Another note in the same set of manuscript books is as follows:

> Birde, suos iactet si Musa Britanna clientes,
> Signiferum turmis te creet illa suis.

Forgotten as he and his music have been for

[1] Christ Church, Oxford, MSS., 984–8.

the greater part of the three hundred years which have elapsed since his death, William Byrd, the great Englishman, the contemporary of Shakespeare, is once more being spoken of with reverence by the musicians. The notable revival of interest in the music of the Tudor School which has taken place in the past quarter of a century has inevitably given special prominence to the work of the man who in his own day was regarded as the parent of British music. It is not possible to suppose that Byrd's music will ever again lapse into oblivion.

It is stated by Boyce [1] that Byrd's son Thomas was appointed to act as deputy to Dr. John Bull in his various musical offices, including the Gresham professorship, in 1601 when Bull's health had given way.

Christopher Byrd who is mentioned in a letter among the Salisbury papers, dated August 1599,[2] may perhaps be the composer's eldest son. He is described there as ' a servant of my Lord's called Christopher Bird, a gun-maker, a man both very religious and very well acquainted with ordnance matters, having been a long time trained up in the Tower '.

[1] Boyce's *Cathedral Music*, Vol. III, Preface.

[2] Hist. MSS. Commission, Salisbury Papers, Pt. ix, p. 340.

II

LATIN CHURCH MUSIC

BY common agreement Byrd reached his highest level in the music which he wrote for the Latin rites of the Church. His work in this branch of composition is characterized by a rare dignity of expression, and above all things he displayed a wonderful power for devising the exact musical phrase to suit the words of each sentence. The composer himself knew that the basic test of good vocal music was that it should be 'framed to the life of the words'[1]; and we have evidence that he was conscious of his own superlative gifts in this supremely important matter, although with admirable modesty he attributed his success to the power of the words, rather than to his own ability to conceive the right musical phrase to express the words. Thus, in a Latin address to his patron, Lord Northampton,[2] he commented on 'the beauty of the words themselves', and then proceeded to say 'there is a certain hidden power, as I learnt by

[1] *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets* . . . by William Byrd, 1611. (Title-page.)

[2] *Gradualia*, Lib. I, 1605.

experience, in the thoughts underlying the words themselves; so that, as one meditates upon the sacred words and constantly and seriously considers them, the right notes, in some inexplicable manner, suggest themselves quite spontaneously'.

Another noticeable feature in Byrd's Latin Church music is the largeness of the outline of his musical phrases, and this in spite of the fact that the practice of setting single syllables to very long phrases of music, which had prevailed in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, had been abandoned before Byrd's time. Over and over again these splendid broad phrases are to be seen, if the eye is not balked by the too lavish use of the bar-line in modern vocal scores of this music. One more general point should be mentioned: Byrd's underlaying of the words is characteristically English. The rules laid down by Zarlino in this matter in the sixteenth century are of very little, if any, use in reference to Byrd's music. Many of the principles followed by Byrd as regards the underlaying of Latin words are the same as those which he employed when setting English words; and in this latter department he probably did more than any other of the Elizabethans to establish a method which remained in vogue until almost the middle of the seventeenth century.

One particular feature as regards underlaying the words in the work of Byrd, and of the English School in general at the close of the sixteenth century, was the practice of tying the notes over the strong rhythmic points of the music. By this device a heavy consonant was often neatly diverted from the strong musical beat with great advantage to the phrasing both of the words and the music. Thus it was almost an invariable convention to tie the half-note that followed a dot of augmentation to the third note of the group. Frequently small and unimportant syllables were laid under a musical phrase consisting of several notes, with the object of giving additional value to the accented word or syllable when the strong rhythmic point was reached in the music. Conventions such as these ceased to be understood when mensurable music came to be so rigidly regularized a hundred years later, and it is unfortunate that they were so generally misinterpreted in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. If the original underlaying of the words is modernized by editorial handling, and the composer's free rhythms are cut into square and regular shapes, much of Byrd's music is at once rendered commonplace.

Brief reference should here be made to certain peculiarities of technique in Byrd's writing,

examples of which occur in his Latin motets as well as in his madrigals and other English work. The most striking of these peculiarities is his use of certain dissonances, such as the simultaneous employment of the major and minor third. This subject was discussed in some detail in the author's *English Madrigal Composers*[1] in the chapter on Byrd, and little need be repeated here. It has been said that Byrd was the first composer to introduce dissonances of this kind, but that is not wholly accurate. Nevertheless he himself recognized their novel character and was conscious that those who performed his music might consider such dissonances strange and unexpected, and might therefore question the accuracy of his text. So he issued a general warning in the 'Epistle to the Reader' at the beginning of his *Psalmes, Sonets, and Songs* in 1588 in the following terms: 'In the expressing of these songs, either by voyces or Instruments, if there happen to be any jarre or dissonance, blame not the Printer who (I doe assure thee) . . . doth heere deliver to thee a perfect and true Coppie.'

No more than three Masses by Byrd have survived to our day, as far as is known. This

[1] *The English Madrigal Composers*, by E. H. Fellowes, p. 171. Clarendon Press.

seems a small number when compared with the ninety of Palestrina, but it must be remembered that Palestrina spent his long life almost entirely in the service of the Church, and that a constant demand for new settings for performance was always before him. The conditions under which Byrd lived in England were in marked contrast; in fact, considering the somewhat limited chance of performance which a Mass had in England at that date, it is rather remarkable that Byrd wrote as many as three. Yet it cannot be doubted that the Mass continued to be celebrated with music in many districts in this country, more or less privately perhaps, until well into the seventeenth century. Who can doubt, for instance, that Byrd's patron Lord Worcester and many other influential landowners had private establishments at which the Mass was duly sung? Illegal it certainly was, but in return they paid handsome fines as 'recusants', and this was a source of income not to be despised by the Crown; for obvious reasons, discipline, though it varied in different districts in England, was often very laxly enforced. It is impossible in any case to suppose that Byrd and other Englishmen wrote their motets and Masses just as academic exercises, or that their *Cantiones Sacrae* were reserved exclusively for use when 'Master

Sophobulus his banket'[1] happened to take place on a Sunday evening.

The three Masses may have been published simultaneously, but, as no title-page exists in the two or three known exemplars, no date can be assigned to them with certainty. Mr. Barclay Squire, who was one of the first to discover these highly important works, called attention to the fact that the initial letters used in them are the same as those first used by Thomas East, the printer, in Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* in 1588, and he inclined to the opinion that this was their date. But Mr. H. B. Collins more recently has pointed out[2] that the same initial letters were also used in the second edition of the second book of *Gradualia*, issued in 1610. This for many reasons seems a more likely date, especially as the British Museum exemplar was discovered interleaved with a copy of this second edition. On the other hand Mr. Collins noticed that in the five-part Mass Byrd used the barred semicircle ¢, whereas in the other two the unbarred C is used; and further that in all his publications in 1588, 1589, and 1592 he used the

[1] Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 1597 ed., p. 1.

[2] *Latin Church Music by Early English Composers*, by H. B. Collins. Mus. Assoc. Proceedings, 39th session, p. 71.

C exclusively, while in the *Gradualia* in 1605 and 1607 and in the *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets* of 1611 the barred semicircle, ¢, is used invariably. Mr. Collins by this ingenious piece of research provided evidence that the five-part Mass was probably published about 1590, and the other two Masses about 1610.

Of the Masses themselves little more need be said. They are all of entrancing beauty, perfectly matched to the words, both as regards rhythm and melody. Byrd seems to have aimed at no special display of skill; nothing in the nature of a canon or of elaborate contrapuntal device, such as was so commonly introduced in the Masses of the sixteenth century, is to be found here. The voices are handled with wonderful skill with the object of giving variety of texture and colour; and this is even the case in the three-part Mass, in which several passages are written for two voices alone. Nothing in these works is perhaps finer than the opening passage of the *Sanctus* in the three-part Mass; the splendour of the tenor and bass phrase, with its grand outline, gives a character at the very outset to this *Sanctus* which it maintains until the close, reached with a magnificent climax in the high register of all the voices on the word *excelsis*. The most beautiful number in

the four-part Mass is, perhaps, the *Agnus Dei*. It opens with a prolonged passage for treble and alto voice alone. In a later section the fourth voice has a fine phrase descending sequentially at the words *miserere nobis*, and the concluding section, opening in a dominant pedal, ends with a complete impression of repose.

The five-part Mass is usually regarded as the greatest of the three, partly because the additional voice gives greater scope for variety of treatment as well as for richness of harmonic effect. The variety which Byrd secures by frequently keeping his vocal resources in reserve adds immensely to the strength of the structure as a whole. In the *Credo*, for instance, after the climax at *non erit finis* he employs the alto, first tenor, and bass alone, and follows this with a passage for treble, alto, and second tenor, bringing in the full five voices with tremendous force at the words *et unam sanctam catholicam*; then again he drops the bass voice out at *Confiteor*, and the five voices enter once more together at *et expecto resurrexionem*. The *Agnus Dei*, though differing from it in many features, is almost, if not quite, as moving as that of the four-part Mass.

There are altogether a very large number of Byrd's motets surviving to-day. This is mainly due to the fact that he published as many as

four sets of his own motets and shared another volume with Tallis. In addition to these some forty or fifty more are to be found in various manuscript collections.

The first publication was entitled : ' Cantiones, Quae Ab | Argumento Sacrae Vocantur, | Quinqu et Sex Partium, Autoribus | Thoma Tallisio & Guilielmo Birdo Anglis, Serenis|simae Regineae Maiestati à privato Sacello ge|nerosis, Organistis. | Cum Privelegio. | Excudebat Thomas Vautrollerius typographus Lon|dinensis in claustro vulgo Blackfriers commorans, | 1575.'

It was dedicated to the Queen herself, to whose musical gifts these two great men made courtly allusion in their dedicatory address, noting her excellence ' vel vocis elegantia, vel digitorum agilitate '. Making all due allowance for conventional flattery, it would seem that Queen Elizabeth had no small skill in music, and that in this characteristic as in so many others, she was indeed her father's daughter.

Two long poems in Latin elegiacs written in praise of the music of Tallis and Byrd by Richard Mulcaster and Ferdinando Richardson, and also a shorter anonymous one, are printed in this book. Byrd was thirty-two years old at this time and he contributed eighteen motets to this set. Fine numbers by Byrd in this set are *Aspice*

Domine, *Laudate pueri*, and *Peccantem me quotidie*; the last named foreshadows in this early stage some of Byrd's finest work. *Diliges Dominum* is a very elaborate and ingenious form of canon; it is what is technically known as a canon 8 in 4 cancrizans. That is to say, the second choir sing the same parts as the first choir, but backwards, beginning with the last note and ending with the first, and it is a work of amazing ingenuity and skill. *Attollite portas* is a brilliant motet full of splendid vigour. It is one of those of which an English version was made in the composer's own lifetime. The English version is to be found in the Peterhouse MSS. and at Durham Cathedral, where it appears as the psalm with special *preces* 'for Ascension Day at Evensong'. *O lux beata Trinitas* in this set is styled 'hymnus' with a second part beginning *Te mane laudem carmine*.

Byrd's own two books of *Cantiones Sacrae* followed each other at close intervals in 1589 and 1591, just as did his two English volumes in 1588 and 1589. The first of these is entitled: 'Liber Primus | Sacrarum Cantio|num Quinque vocum. | Autore Guilielmo Byrd Organista | Regio, Anglo. | Excudebat Thomas Est ex assigna|tione Guilielmi Byrd. | Cum privelegio. | Londini. 25. Octob. 1589.'

This book, counting the second and subsequent 'parts' separately, contains twenty-nine numbers, but in reality sixteen complete motets. It was dedicated to Edward, Lord Worcester, who was, as already stated, a special patron of Byrd's.

It has been suggested,[1] and probably with truth, that this set of Motets reflects Byrd's attitude of regret for the passing of the old order in the English Church Services. The defeat of the Armada in the previous year did much to stiffen the hostile attitude towards the Roman Church; there were many English people of moderate views whose demands for reform were of a limited character—freedom from Papal interference in matters of purely national concern, and the substitution of English for Latin words in the old services; and, indeed, this had been the full extent of Henry VIII's personal policy. It is not unlikely that Byrd held similar views; but the run of events, culminating in the defeat of the Spanish designs, had swept the moderates off their feet, so that in 1589 we can picture the religious-minded Byrd in a state of distress, knowing that many features which he had prized had gone for ever from English church-worship.

[1] *Latin Church Music by Early English Composers*, by H. B. Collins. Mus. Assoc. Proceedings, 39th session, p. 69.

Most of the words in this first book of *Cantiones* are of a sad and reflective character, and the dominant note is set by *Ne irascaris* with its beautiful plaint in the second half, *Sion deserta facta est.* This particular motet chances to be one of the best known of all Byrd's compositions, for it was adapted in several versions to English words, one of which begins, *Lord, in thy wrath,* and the second part, *Bow thine ear.* In this form it was printed by Barnard in 1641, and subsequently by Boyce in the eighteenth century, and *Bow thine ear* is in the *répertoire* of every Cathedral choir to-day. There is evidence that the English versions were certainly made in Byrd's lifetime and not improbably with his sanction. *In resurrexione* is in contrast to the rest of the book, and so also is the splendid motet *O quam gloriosum.* Both of these are of a joyful character, as the words imply.

The second book of *Cantiones Sacrae,* as already stated, followed the first very quickly. Its title was 'Liber Secundus | Sacrarum Cantionum, | Quarum aliae ad Quinque, aliae verò ad | Sex voces aeditae sunt. | Autore Guilielmo Byrd, Organista | Regio, Anglo. | Excudebat Thomas Este ex assigna|tione Guilielmi Byrd. | Cum privilegio. | Londini, quarto Novemb. 1591.'

There are thirty-two independent numbers in

this book counting 'second parts', but twenty-one complete motets. The volume was dedicated to Lord Lumley.

Perhaps the finest motet in the set is *Haec dies* for six voices; it is last in the book. It is an Easter subject and is very elaborately written. One feature of this composition is a fivefold repetition of a 'Rosalia' sequence to the word Alleluia in the bass voice. The Rosalia sequence derives its name from an old Italian song beginning *Rosalia mia cara* which was constructed on the principle of repeating a short phrase each time one degree higher in the scale. Example of threefold repetitions are to be found in the works of Handel, Mozart, and Beethoven; and Schumann employs the device frequently; but examples of fivefold repetitions are rare. But there is a sixfold Rosalia sequence in the *Sanctus* of Taverner's *Small Devotion* Mass, and even an eightfold sequence in the same composer's *Gloria tibi Trinitas* Mass. *Haec dicit Dominus* is also a very expressive number, and another brilliant example of Byrd's work in this book is *Exsurge Domine quare obdormis*. This is another of the motets which was adapted to English words in Byrd's lifetime and no doubt with his sanction if not by his hand, and it should be stated that Byrd's original English anthem *Arise, O Lord* is

another work altogether. Curiously enough, both these works, set to English words, are to be found in a manuscript tenor part-book, written in 1607, which alone is known to survive out of a set of eight made that year for use in Southwell Minster. This tenor book is now owned by Mr. E. Gordon Duff of Oxford.

Cunctis diebus is a beautiful setting of words from the book of Job. *Infelix ego omnium auxilio* is an interesting number, for the words are not Biblical or Liturgical, and it is a Latin counterpart of those English compositions of a serious or semi-religious nature which Byrd included in his English volumes under the heading of Songs of Sadness and Piety. *If that a sinner's sighs be Angels' food* (1588, Set No. 30) is an example of this kind.

After 1591 comes Byrd's strange period of silence, occupied, as it seems, very largely with family troubles, lawsuits about his Stondon property, and religious difficulties, for it was at this period that he and his wife were so frequently summoned as recusants. In 1605, however, his first book of *Gradualia* was published. Byrd was no more than sixty-two years old at the time, and his repeated references to his old age and swan-songs in the dedicatory addresses seem to us something of a pose, especially as he lived another eighteen years and could not well have

been in any infirmity. But he states in his preface to the second book in 1607 that he was feeling the death of many of his distinguished pupils, and possibly the recent death of Thomas Morley may have affected him. Moreover, the recusants had seen the promise of greater tolerance dashed away from them as the result of the Gunpowder Plot and its failure; and the sentiments which influenced Byrd in compiling the first book of *Cantiones Sacrae* may have returned to him now with renewed force. Be that as it may, he definitely stated in his dedicatory address to Lord Petre that he was anxious to leave behind him some record of his grateful attitude towards God.

The titles of the two books are as follows:

Gradualia, | Ac | Cantiones Sa|crae, quinis, quaternis, trinisque | vocibus concinnatae. | Lib. Primus. | Authore Gulielmo Byrde, Organista | Regio Anglo. | Editio Secunda, priore emendatior. | Dulcia defectâ modulatur carmina linguâ | Cantator Cygnus funeris ipse sui. Martialis. | Londini, | Excudebat H. L. Impensis Ricardi Redmeri, | Stella aurea in D. Pauli Coemeterio. | 1610.[1]

Gradualia: | Seu Cantionum | Quarum aliae ad Quatuor, | aliae verò ad | Quinque et Sex voces editae sunt | Liber Secundus. | Authore Gulielmo Byrde, Organista | Regio, Anglo. | Musica Divinos profert modulamine Cantus: | Iubilum in Ore, favum in Corde, et in Aure melos. | Excudebat Thomas Este Londini, ex assignatione | Gulielmi Barley. 1607.

[1] No copy of the first edition is known to survive. The records of the Stationers show that it was entered by Thomas East on the 10th January 1605.

The first was dedicated to Henry Lord Northampton, and the second to Lord Petre of Writtle. These books contain settings of the movable parts of the Mass, the Introit, Gradual, Offertory, and Communion. The first book includes as many as fifty-three separate motets : twenty-two for five voices, twenty for four, and eleven for three. It comprises the Festivals of the Blessed Virgin and also of All Saints and Corpus Christi, as well as several other motets set to words from the Breviary. In the second book there are nineteen motets for four voices, eighteen for five, and nine for six, making a total of forty-six. The four-voice section is devoted to music *In Nativitate Domini*, *In Epiphania Domini*, and *Post Pascha*. The five-voice section is written for use, *In tempore Paschali*, *In Ascensione Domini*, and *In festo Penticostes*. The six-voice music is for the Festivals of St. Peter and St. Paul, with some miscellaneous numbers.

Some of the *Gradualia* show some departure from the orthodox methods of polyphonic writing. Whereas the invariable convention had been to write Latin motets for unaccompanied voices, there are several examples in which two voices sing alone and the other parts are supplied in the form of an accompaniment by viols.

As regards the *Gradualia* Mr. Collins's general

comment[1] may be quoted: 'The *Gradualia* represent the crown of Byrd's work and the quintessence of his style. They show a conciseness of expression which has often been noticed in the mature work of composers who have had a long career. They abound in that mystical element which was so strong a feature of Byrd's personality. . . . They are full of remarkable harmonic experiments.' Mr. Collins singles out *Dei Genetrix* as an example of Byrd's earnestness in setting his words to music, and *Tu es Pastor ovium* as an especially fine number. He also calls attention to the great variety of treatment which Byrd brings to bear on the settings of his *Alleluias*. The same remark may be made with reference to his *Amens* in his English work.

Apart from these printed works a large amount of Byrd's Latin music still exists in manuscript. Of these works it is not possible to write in detail because some time must yet elapse before they can be collected and scored; also it is not possible to form any judgement as to the value of music by an examination of separate part-books alone. Settings of the Lamentations exist, and these are to be seen among the manuscripts at Christ Church, Oxford, the British Museum, and

[1] *Latin Church Music by Early English Composers*, by H. B. Collins. Mus. Assoc. Proceedings, 39th session, p. 70.

St. Michael's College, Tenbury. In these libraries too, and also at Peterhouse and the Bodleian Library, are a number of motets not found in the printed sets; these perhaps may number as many as fifty.

The well-known canon *Non nobis Domine* is very generally attributed to Byrd, but the textual evidence for this is not strong. It was first printed in John Hilton's *Catch as catch can* in 1652 without any composer's name, and it is not ascribed to Byrd in any early manuscript. One manuscript dated *c.* 1715 [1] attributes it, almost certainly erroneously, to Thomas Morley; but in the eighteenth century it was almost universally considered to be by Byrd.

There is an important manuscript collection of thirty Canons by Byrd in the British Museum.[2] The first six of these are constructed on *O lux beata Trinitas*; Nos. 7–11 are on the plain-song *Per naturam*; and the last nineteen are on *Miserere*. Possibly some of this last group were among those which Byrd wrote in friendly competition with Alphonso Ferrabosco the elder. This competition was alluded to by Thomas Morley in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*.[3] Morley tells how these two

[1] British Museum Harl. MS. 7337.
[2] British Museum Add. MS. 31391.
[3] p. 115.

musicians competed in setting the plain-song *Miserere* in forty different ways. Their efforts were printed in 1603 under the title of ' Medulla Musicke. Sucked out of the sappe of Two the most famous Musitians that ever were in this land etc '. Unfortunately no copy of this publication is known to survive.

Only the last three of the Canons in this very important little manuscript are set to words, the rest seem to be instrumental. Each composition has the initials W. B. at the end ; there is no evidence as to whether these initials are Byrd's autograph. In the case of the first example in the book the initials imitate printed character and are very similar indeed to the W. B. which is written outside the top margins of the Tenbury MS. 389. This seems to suggest that the initials are autograph, for in the Tenbury book they would denote ownership and in the other case authorship.

CHURCH MUSIC BY WILLIAM BYRD FOR THE LATIN RITES

(*a*). PRINTED WORKS

1575. Cantiones Quae ab Argumento Sacrae Vocantur

Emendemus in melius.
Libera me Domine. 1 *pars.*
Dies mei transierunt. 2 *pars.*
Peccantem me quotidie.
Aspice Domine.
Attollite portas.
O lux beata Trinitas. 1 *pars.*
Te mane laudem carmine. 2 *pars.*
Deo patri sit gloria.
Laudate pueri Dominum.
Memento homo quod cinis es.
Siderum rector Deus alme.
Da mihi auxilium.
Domine secundum actum. 1 *pars.*
Deo deprecor. 2 *pars.*
Diliges Dominum.
Miserere mihi Domine.
Laudet te cor meum.
Fac nos per ipsam gratiam.
Gloria Patri.
Libera me Domine.

1589. Liber Primus Sacrarum Cantionum Quinque Vocum

1. Deficit in dolore. 1 *pars.*
2. Sed tu Domine. 2 *pars.*
3. Domine prestolamur. 1 *pars.*
4. Veni Domine. 2 *pars.*
5. O Domine adiuva me.

6. Tristitia et anxietas. 1 *pars.*
7. Sed tu Domine. 2 *pars.*
8. Memento Domine.
9. Vide Domine. 1 *pars.*
10. Sed veni, Domine. 2 *pars.*
11. Deus venerunt gentes. 1 *pars.*
12. Posuerunt morticinia. 2 *pars.*
13. Effuderunt sanguinem. 3 *pars.*
14. Facti sumus opprobrium. 4 *pars.*
15. Domine tu iurasti.
16. Vigilate nescitis enim.
17. In resurrectione.
18. Aspice Domine. 1 *pars.*
19. Respice Domine. 2 *pars.*
20. Ne irascaris. 1 *pars.*
21. Civitas sancti tui. 2 *pars.*
22. O quam gloriosum. 1 *pars.*
23. Benedictio et claritas. 2 *pars.*
24. Tribulationes civitatis. 1 *pars.*
25. Timor et hebetudo. 2 *pars.*
26. Nos enim pro peccatis. 3 *pars.*
27. Domine secundum.
28. Laetentur coeli. 1 *pars.*
29. Orietur. 2 *pars.*

1591. Cantiones Sacrae. *Of five and six voices.* Book II

of five voices.

1. Laudibus in sanctis. 1 *pars.*
Magnificum Domini. 2 *pars.*
2. Hunc arguta. 3 *pars.*
3. Quis est homo. 1 *pars.*
4. Diverte a malo. 2 *pars.*
5. Fac cum servo tuo.
6. Salve Regina. 1 *pars.*
7. Et Iesum benedictum. 2 *pars.*

8. Tribulatio proxima. 1 *pars.*
9. Contumelias et terrores. 2 *pars.*
10. Domine exaudi orationem meam. 1 *pars.*
11. Et non intres in iudicium. 2 *pars.*
12. Apparebit in finem.
13. Haec dicit Dominus. 1 *pars.*
14. Haec dicit Dominus. 2 *pars.*
15. Circumdederunt me.
16. Levemus corda nostra.
17. Recordare Domini. 1 *pars.*
18. Quiescat Domine. 2 *pars.*
19. Exsurge Domine.
20. Miserere mei Deus.

of six voices.

21. Descendit de coelis. 1 *pars.*
22. Et exivit per auream portam. 2 *pars.*
23. Domine non sum dignus.
24. Infelix ego omnium. 1 *pars.*
25. Quid igitur faciam. 2 *pars.*
26. Ad te igitur. 3 *pars.*
27. Afflicti pro peccatis. 1 *pars.*
28. Et eruas nos a malis. 2 *pars.*
29. Cantate Domino.
30. Cunctis diebus.
31. Domine salva nos.
32. Haec dies.

1605. GRADUALIA. Book I

of five voices.

1. Suscepimus Deus.
   Magnus Dominus. *versus*
2. Sicut audivimus.
3. Senex puerorum.

4. Nunc dimittis.
   Quia viderunt. *versus.*
   Lumen ad revelati. *versus.*
5. Responsum accepit Simon.
6. Salve sancta parens. Alleluia.
   Eructavit. *versus.*
7. Benedicta et venerabilis.
8. Virgo Dei genetrix.
9. Felix es. Alleluia.
10. Beata es virgo. Alleluia.
11. Beata viscera. Alleluia.
12. Rorate coeli.
    Benedixit Domine. *versus.*
13. Tollite portas.
    Quis ascendit.
14. Ave Maria. Alleluia.
15. Ecce Virgo. Alleluia.
16. Vultum tuum. Alleluia.
17. Speciosus forma.
    Lingua mea. *versus.*
18. Post partum. Alleluia.
19. Felix namque. Alleluia.
20. Alleluia. Ave Maria.
    Virga Jesse. *versus.*
21. Gaude Maria.
22. Diffusa est.
    Propter veritatem. *versus.*
    Audi Filia.
    Vultum tuum. *versus.*
    Adducentur Regi. *versus.*
    Adducentur in laetitia. *versus.*

of four voices.

1. Cibavit eos.
   Exultate Deo. *versus.*

2. Oculi omnium.
   Aperis tu manum. *versus.*
3. Sacerdotes Domini.
4. Quotiescunque.
5. Ave verum.
6. O salutaris.
7. O sacrum convivium. Alleluia.
8. Nobis natus. 1 *pars.*
   Verbum caro. 2 *pars.*
   Tantum ergo. 3 *pars.*
9. Ecce quam bonum. 1 *pars.*
   Quod descendit. 2 *pars.*
10. Christus resurgens. 1 *pars.*
    Dicant nunc. 2 *pars.*
11. Visita quaesumus.
12. Salve Regina. 1 *pars.*
    Eia ergo. 2 *pars.*
13. Alma Redemptoris.
14. Ave Regina.
15. In manus tuas Domine.
16. Laetania.
17. Salve sola.
18. Senex puerorum.
19. Hodie Beata.
20. Deo gratias.

of three voices.

1. Quem terra, pontus. 1 *pars.*
   Cui luna. 2 *pars.*
   Beata Mater. 3 *pars.*
   Beata coeli. 4 *pars.*
   Gloria tibi. 5 *pars.*
2. O gloriosa. 1 *pars.*
   Quod Eva. 2 *pars.*
   Tu regis. 3 *pars.*

Gloria tibi. 4 *pars.*
3. Memento salutis auctor. 1 *pars.*
Maria Mater. 2 *pars.*
Gloria tibi Domine. 3 *pars.*
4. Ave Maris stella. 1 *pars.*
Sumens illud. 2 *pars.*
Solve vincla reis. 3 *pars.*
Monstrate. 4 *pars.*
Virgo singularis. 5 *pars.*
Vitam presta. 6 *pars.*
Sit laus Deo. 7 *pars.*
5. Regina coeli. 1 *pars.*
Quia quem. 2 *pars.*
Resurrexit. 3 *pars.*
Ora pro nobis. 4 *pars.*
6. Alleluia. 1 *pars.*
Vespere autem sabbathi. 2 *pars.*
7. Haec dies.
8. Angelus Domini.
9. Post dies octo.
Mane nobiscum. *versus.*
10. Turbarum voces in passione Domini secundum Joannem.
11. Adorna thalamum. 1 *pars.*
Subsistit Virgo. 2 *pars.*

1607. GRADUALIA. Book II

of four voices.

In Nativitate Domini.

1. Puer natus est nobis.
Cantate Domino. *versus.*
2. Viderunt omnes fines.
Notum fecit Dominus. *versus.*
3. Dies sanctificatus.

4. Tui sunt coeli.
5. Viderunt omnes fines.
6. Hodie Christus natus est.
7. O admirabile commercium.
8. O magnum misterium.
9. Beata Virgo.
   Ave Maria. *versus.*

In Epiphania Domini.

10. Ecce ecce advenit.
    Deus iudicium. *versus.*
11. Reges Tharsis et Insulae.
12. Vidimus stellam.
13. Ab ortu solis.
14. Venite commedite.
15. Surge illuminare.

Post Pascha.

16. Alleluia. Cognoverunt discipuli.
17. Ego sum panis vivus.
18. O quam suavis est.
19. Jesu nostra redemptio.
    Quae te vicit clementia. 2 *versus.*
    Inferni claustra penetrans. 3 *versus.*
    Ipsa te cogat pietas. 4 *versus.*
    Tu esto nostrum gaudium. 5 *versus.*

of five voices.

In tempore Paschali.

20. Resurrexi, et adhuc.
    Domine, probasti me. *versus.*
21. Haec dies.
22. Victimae paschalis.
    Dic nobis Maria. *versus.*
23. Terra tremuit.
24. Pascha nostrum.

In Ascensione Domini.

25. Viri Galilei.
    Omnes gentes plaudite. *versus.*
26. Alleluia. Ascendit Deus.
27. Dominus in Sina in sancto.
28. Ascendit Deus in iubilatione.
29. Psallite Domino.
30. O Rex gloriae.

In festo Penticostes.

31. Spiritus Domini.
    Exsurgat Deus. *versus.*
32. Alleluia. Emitte spiritum tuum.
33. Veni sancte Spiritus.
34. Confirma hoc Deus.
35. Factus est repente.
36. Veni sancte Spiritus.
    O lux beatissima. 2 *pars.*
    Da tuis fidelibus. 3 *pars.*
37. Non vos relinquam Orphanos.

of six voices.

In festo SS. Petri et Pauli.

38. Nunc scio vere.
    Domine probasti me.
39. Constitues eos Principes.
    Pro Patribus tuis. *versus.*
40. Solve iubente Deo.
41. Tu es Petrus.
42. Hodie Simon Petrus.
43. Tu es Pastor ovium.
44. Quodcunque ligaveris.
45. Laudate Dominum.
46. Venite exultemus Domino.

MASSES

? *c.* 1590. Mass for five voices.
? *c.* 1610. Mass for three voices.
? *c.* 1610. Mass for four voices.

(*b*). MOTETS IN MANUSCRIPT

(*a*) = British Museum. (*b*) = Buckingham Palace MSS. (*c*) = Bodleian Library. (*d*) = Christ Church, Oxford. (*e*) = St. Michael's College, Tenbury. (*f*) = R.C.M.

Abradate. (*e*)
Ad Dominum cum tribularer. à 8. (*a*)
Heu mihi Domine. (*a*)
Ad punctum in modico. à 5. (*c*)
Adoramus te. à 5. (*a*)
Alleluia. Confitemini Domino. à 3. (*a*), (*b*), (*d*), (*f*)
Alleluia. Laudate pueri. (*b*)
Audivi vocem. à 5. (*a*), (*c*), (*d*), (*e*)
Benigne fac Domine. à 5. (*c*), (*d*)
Christe qui lux. (*a*)
Christe redemptor. à 4. (*e*)
Christe redemptor. à 4 (another setting). (*e*)
Circumspice Hierusalem. (*e*)
De lamentatione. à 5. (*a*), (*d*), (*e*)
Decantabat populus. à 5. (*a*), (*d*)
Deus in adiutorium. à 6. (*d*), (*e*)
Dies illa. (*b*)
Domine ante te. à 5. (*d*)
Domine Deus omnipotens. à 5. (*d*)
Domini exaudi. à 5. (*e*)
Domine quis habitabit. à 9. (*b*)
Exultate iusti. à 5. (*e*)
Inquirentes autem. (*e*)
Incola ego sum. (*e*)
Manus tuae fecerunt. (*e*)

Memento salutis. (*a*)
Miserere. à 4. (*a*), (*e*)
Miserere. à 4 (another setting). (*a*)
Ne perdas cum impiis. à 5. (*b*), (*c*), (*d*)
Eripe me. 2 *pars.*
Noctis recolitur. (*d*)
Non nobis Domine. à 3. (*d*)
O salutaris hostia. à 6. (*a*), (*d*), (*e*)
Omni tempore benedic. à 5. (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), (*e*)
Memor esto fili. 2 *pars.*
Opprobrium facti sumus. (*e*)
Peccari super numerum. à 5. (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*)
Petrus beatus. à 5. (*e*)
Quodcunque vinculis. 2 *pars.*
Per immensa saecula. 3 *pars.*
Gloria Deo. 4 *pars.*
Precamur sancte Domine. à 4. (*a*), (*e*)
Precamur sancte Domine. à 5. (*a*), (*d*)
Quis me statim. (*a*)
Quomodo cantabimus. à 8. (*b*), (*e*)
Si non proposuero. 2 *pars.*
Reges Tharsis. à 5 [different from *Gradualia* II. 11]. (*d*)
Salvator mundi. à 3. (*a*)
Sermone blando. à 4. (*a*), (*e*)
Similes illis fiant. à 4. (*a*)
Sponsus amat sponsam. à 5. (*a*), (*c*), (*e*)
Te lucis ante terminum. à 4. (*a*), (*e*)
Te mane laudem carmine. (*e*)
Te deprecor. (*e*)
Tribue Domine. (*e*)
Vide Domine quoniam tribulor. 1 *pars.* (*e*)
Quoniam amaritudine. 2 *pars.*

Three canons for 5 voices on Miserere at the end of British Museum Add. MS. 31391.

III

ENGLISH CHURCH MUSIC

IN the cathedral and collegiate choirs of England Byrd's memory has never been completely obliterated, but one can only contemplate with amazement the fact that the tradition has been sustained by such slender ties. *Bow thine ear*, which was the contemporary adaptation to English words of part of one of his Latin motets, and the 'short' service, known in Cathedral circles as *Byrd in D minor*, have never lost their place in the Cathedral *répertoire*; and in a few choirs *Sing joyfully* has also retained its position among the anthems. But beyond these hardly a note of Byrd's music had been sung since the seventeenth century until the present revival began some twenty years ago.

These facts seem all the more surprising when, as the result of recent research, it has been found that Byrd left a rich store of music written expressly for the reformed services of the English Prayer Book. Indeed no other composer of the Tudor School has bequeathed to the Anglican Church so large and so varied a legacy of music, although he is nearly approached, as regards

quantity at least, by his great pupil Thomas Tomkins of Worcester Cathedral. But Byrd takes first place among the polyphonic composers for the English service, not only for this reason, but also because of the wonderful distinction and quality of his work, which is accounted for by his rare gift for finding musical phrases to express the varied thoughts underlying the words; and this aspect of his genius is reflected in his English work almost, if not quite, as clearly as it is in what he wrote for the Latin rites of the Church.

Unlike Byrd's Latin Church music, so large a proportion of which was issued in printed editions, much of his English Church music was not published in his own lifetime. Several reasons may be put forward to explain this apparent neglect. Perhaps the chief of these was the existence of a well organized co-operation between the cathedral and collegiate establishments throughout the country. For it seems to have been the practice for a composer to circulate the vocal score and an organ-part of any anthem or service throughout the Cathedrals, where, in each individual case, the voice-parts were transcribed singly into the separate part-books and the organ-part into the organ-book; the score was then passed on to the next Cathedral for

similar use. The existence of some such co-operative arrangement is made the more apparent by the remarkable similarity of the rare organ-parts which have survived to our own day. For the organ-scores of those days, unlike more recent scores of the kind, were no more than a sketch of the vocal scores: the bass and treble parts were fairly fully represented in these organ-scores, but the inner parts were usually sketched very lightly, only the principal contrapuntal entries being indicated; and very rarely were more than four voice parts represented simultaneously, even though the composition were for five or six voices. Frequent use was also made of 'directs' at the conclusion of a fragment of a vocal phrase. In these conditions it will be obvious that no two musicians making an incomplete sketch of a vocal score would have produced identical results; yet it is the case that examples of these old organ-scores, coming from such distant places as Oxford, Durham, and Ely, correspond so closely in detail as to make it certain that they have a common origin. Such a system of circulation precluded the need for printing this class of music. But manuscripts perish, especially when their main purpose subjects them to the rough handling of choristers. Fresh and faithful copies were made from time

to time, and good text was thus preserved; but when the wave of fashion in the second half of the seventeenth century swept aside the polyphonic music of Byrd's day, most of the old manuscript part-books naturally fell into disuse and perished, quite independently of that ruthless destruction which was meted out to them by religious fanatics in the time of the Commonwealth. The marvel is that any of these part-books should still survive.

Another circumstance which contributed largely to the neglect of Byrd's music, as well as that of the other Tudor composers in the English churches, was the publication in 1641 of John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*. The convenience of a printed set of books for obvious reasons brought about the neglect of the manuscripts, with the result that the *répertoire* was at one blow curtailed and limited to Barnard's 'Selections'. A further and final limitation was brought about more than a century later when William Boyce published his three volumes of *Cathedral Music* in score. The Cathedral *répertoires* were then restricted, as far as Tudor music was concerned, to what Boyce selected from Barnard's selection. In the case of Byrd the 'Short' service, *Sing joyfully*, and *O Lord, turn thy wrath*, of which *Bow thine ear* is the second

part, were alone chosen to represent him, and, moreover, Boyce's text and editing of these works leaves much to be desired.

Immediately after the appearance of the Book of Common Prayer the English composers set to work to meet the requirements of the Church by setting to music the Canticles, the *Kyrie* and Creed, and also in some rare cases the *Sanctus*, *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Benedictus*, and *Agnus Dei* to English words, besides writing English anthems. The early experiments in these directions are profoundly interesting. The important set of manuscript books in the Bodleian Library,[1] already alluded to, contains a large and remarkably interesting collection of such work. Its date is *c.* 1546–9; and the English words are in some cases those of the First Prayer Book and in others those of the well-known Primers which preceded it. One of the part-books is unfortunately missing from the set, and it is consequently not easy to judge of the value of the music. These books contain as many as ten settings of the Communion Service, two of which are adaptations of Taverner's Masses; and one is by John Heath. Heath's Service was printed by John Day in 1560, who, however, did not include the *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei*, a detail which is

[1] Bodleian Library MS., Mus. Sch., e. 420–2.

explained by the fact that in the meanwhile the Prayer Book of Elizabeth had been issued which omitted them. The same set of manuscripts contain many settings of the morning and evening Canticles, as well as two Burial Services and a large number of Anthems. Among the composers whose work is represented in this collection were Tallis, Causton, Heath, Shepherd, Johnson, and Okeland. Tye's setting of the evening Canticles is probably one of the earliest of such compositions, and the well-known Tallis setting must also belong to the same period.

When Byrd became organist of Lincoln in 1563 most of the music available for use in the Cathedral must still have been of an experimental character, and it cannot be doubted that at this early stage of his career he began to write for the English services. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that his English Church music should show such a decided advance upon the experimental stage, for very little of it shows signs of immaturity. But it is not possible to assign even approximate dates to any single one of Byrd's English Church compositions, except those anthems which were printed in company with his secular work in his two volumes of *Psalms, Songs, and Sonnets*, and in *Songs of Sundry Natures*. Yet he had written enough music before he was

thirty-two years old to earn the title in common with Tallis of a ' parent of British Music ', and it must be inferred from this that he had written many of his important works, both for the English and the Latin rites of the Church, while still at Lincoln.

Byrd covered a large field in English Church music. The Responses of Tallis have become so widely popular and have been used so exclusively, that it is not generally realized that several other Elizabethan composers also harmonized the responses, building upon the same plain-song that Tallis used for the tenor voice. It is to be regretted that in Cathedral choirs these various Tudor settings of the responses should not be used as alternatives. Byrd set the *Preces* three times and the *Responses* once ; and to the *Preces*, according to the custom of the time, he attached selections of Psalms set to a simple type of music. This curious connexion of the Psalms and *Preces* is worth noticing, for the Psalms might have followed the *Preces* without any particular connexion ; but in Barnard's book, and also in the manuscripts, the formula is always Mr. Tallis's, or Mr. Gibbons's, or Mr. Byrd's *First* (*or Second*) *Preces and Psalms*, and the Psalms are headed : ' The First Psalm (or the second or third) to Mr. Byrd's First

Preces.' What the precise connexion was cannot now be determined. It is possible that the Psalms were not sung at all except on great festivals in the sixteenth century, even in the Cathedrals. These settings of the Psalms, or more usually of a few verses of a Psalm, were made in a free kind of chant-form, sometimes very suggestive of the Anglican double-chant which came into vogue at a later date. Tallis's Psalms attached to his *Preces*, though now as little known as his *Preces* and *Responses* are well known, were among the earliest; but it is likely that Byrd produced at least one of his settings in his Lincoln days. These Psalms are remarkably interesting, for they represent in English use the older Latin practice of singing *Salmi concerti* on special occasions. Many of these Latin *Salmi concerti* are to be found in Proske's *Musica Divina*. But it is a peculiar circumstance that the Elizabethan composers like Tallis and Byrd should have written *Salmi concerti* for the English services whereas there are no such settings for the Latin rite by any English composer as far as is known.

Teach me, O Lord, the third Psalm to Byrd's second *Preces*, is very interesting as being one of the earliest examples of a piece of Church music in which a single voice is employed with a distinct

accompaniment for the organ. This was a direct form of breach with the traditional polyphonic style. Historians have supposed until lately that this innovation was first made in the reign of Charles I; yet Byrd has left several other compositions of this kind, and it would seem that this new form must have come into use before the end of Elizabeth's reign.

The most elaborate of Byrd's *Salmi concerti* is *Lift up your heads*, which appears in the Durham and Peterhouse MSS. together with the special *preces* 'for Ascension Day at Evensong'. In design it passes far beyond free-chant form, and is in fact an elaborate anthem for six voices, being an English adaptation, made no doubt by the composer, of his Latin motet *Attollite portas*.

To his third setting of the *Preces* Byrd added the *Responses* and a four-part *Litany*. There are five services by Byrd surviving, but of one of these, a setting of the *Te Deum* and *Benedictus* in F, no more than fragments have as yet been discovered.[1] Of the remaining four, one is a 'short' service and one a 'great' service; both of these include the whole of the Canticles, namely, the *Venite*, *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, as well as the *Kyrie*

[1] Peterhouse MSS.

and *Nicene Creed*; and the other two are settings of the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* only. The terms *short* and *great* service call for some explanation.

Between 1544 and 1559 various orders or injunctions of varying force were issued with reference to Church music, and the general aim of these was to check extravagances such as were especially characteristic of the earlier English composers of music for the Latin rites. Prolonged passages, sometimes interrupted by rests, but designed to be sung to a single syllable, are, for instance, characteristic of Taverner's music. The principle of allowing no more than a single note to any syllable was certainly mooted, but probably it was never enforced; yet the various injunctions were not without effect, and some of the earlier English settings of the Canticles, notably the well-known Service of Tallis, carried out this new principle with much exactness. That in itself set up a model which has been followed ever since Tallis's day, and the Elizabethan composers themselves styled such settings 'Short Services'. But in contrast they also wrote more elaborate and contrapuntal settings. Tallis himself wrote one, but unfortunately no more than the bass part of it is known to survive.[1] These they styled 'Great Services'.

[1] St. John's College, Oxford, MSS.

Byrd's 'Short' service is one of those compositions of his which has never fallen entirely into neglect, but it has been so much misunderstood and misinterpreted that it has come to be regarded as a severe work suitable only for penitential occasions. It has been drawled and sung with a rigid and often false rhythm. When sung with a proper freedom and at a reasonable speed it will be found to express the beauty and meaning of the words with a remarkable degree of clarity, and, far from being a dull work, it is characterized throughout by a wealth of melody. The 'Great' service may be classed with the three Masses among the very finest of Byrd's compositions. It is written for a double choir of five voices each, and on account of its length, as well as because of the number of voices required, it must necessarily be reserved for performance on special occasions. Nevertheless, this magnificent service, which is certainly one of the noblest pieces of music ever set to English words, should not be allowed to remain so little known as it must necessarily be if confined to exceptional use in Cathedrals; it seems reasonable that choral societies should study and sing it in the same way that they study and perform the Masses of Palestrina or of Bach. The 'Great' service was entirely unknown until recently,

when it was rediscovered in the Durham Cathedral MSS. It was printed in Vol. II of the Carnegie edition of *Tudor Church Music*, and is now also available in complete and accessible form.[1]

The other two services are of a simpler character; but the 'Second' service, as Barnard styled it, is very interesting as being probably the earliest example of a 'Verse' service, for it has passages for a solo voice accompanied by the organ. This innovation was mentioned some pages back in reference to one of Byrd's *Salmi concerti*. No date can be assigned to this composition, but as Byrd also wrote some anthems with passages for solo voice and organ, it may be fairly assumed that he himself was responsible for this bold departure from tradition; his originality is shown in so many directions that it would have been consistent with his genius to have opened out this new path which has been followed by all great composers of English Church music since his time. Byrd also wrote some anthems with 'Verse' passages for solo voice. It may be thought that his work in this new style falls short in some respects of his purely polyphonic writing; indeed it cannot

[1] *Byrd's 'Great' Service*, edited by E. H. Fellowes. Oxford University Press.

well be denied. Yet it must be remembered that pioneer work in any branch of Art deserves special credit quite apart from the actual standard of achievement.

Rather more than half Byrd's English anthems were printed in his lifetime. A large number of these are to be found in the two volumes of *Psalms, Songs, and Sonnets* which were published in 1588 and 1611 respectively, and in his *Songs of Sundrie Natures* issued in 1589. Many of these are settings of metrical versions of the Psalms, a few of which are the work of Sternhold and Hopkins. There are examples in these books of metrical Psalms set to three, four, and five voices, but they vary a good deal in merit. But these books also contain some very fine anthems written in Byrd's best manner. For instance, *Praise our Lord, all ye Gentiles* is a work of rare dignity and vigour. Another very fine number is *Turn our captivity* with its gay triple measure introduced at the words *they shall come with jollity*, and the passage *carrying their sheaves with them* is beautifully pictured in the music. *When to the hills*, *Come, let us rejoice*, and *Sing we merrily* are typical specimens of the best type of polyphonic writing; the last mentioned of these is written for an unusual combination of voices, including three high trebles. There is among

these volumes a setting of the fifty-first Psalm which is among Byrd's most beautiful anthems; alternate verses of this psalm are sung by a single voice accompanied by viols. The Christmas music in these volumes is also in Byrd's very best manner; nothing could be more noble than *This day Christ was born*; and the chorus *Rejoice, rejoice* for two trebles and two altos which follows the solo *From Virgin's womb this day is born* is perhaps the most brilliant short Christmas chorus in existence. The setting of the Easter anthem, *Christ is risen from the dead*, has a string accompaniment and does not quite reach the level of the Christmas anthems.

Four short anthems by Byrd were included by Sir William Leighton in his *Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule*. This book was published in 1614; and Byrd's contributions to it were his last works published in his lifetime.

Barnard printed as many as seven of Byrd's anthems in his collection in 1641. The best known of these is the brilliant *Sing joyfully*. Both *Prevent us, O Lord* and *O God, whom our offences* are devotional in the best and truest sense. *Hear my prayer* is a 'verse' anthem belonging to a type already mentioned. *Prevent us, O Lord* is to be found in a late eighteenth-century manuscript belonging to St. Michael's

College, Tenbury,[1] in which the score is irregularly barred in a manner that not only corresponds in principle but even to some extent in detail with that adopted by the editors of the Carnegie edition; this manuscript was unknown to the editors until after the Carnegie volume was published. Another of Barnard's selections is Byrd's accession anthem *O Lord, make thy Servant*; as Barnard's book appeared in the reign of Charles I, the text he printed gave the name of the reigning sovereign. A writer who was desirous of proving that *all* the anthems with English words associated with the music of the Elizabethan composers were of the nature of adaptations from the Latin, quoted this anthem as evidence to support his contention, arguing that it 'could not possibly have been written to those words, as Byrd was dead before Charles became king'.[2] Unfortunately for this argument a modest amount of research among the musical manuscripts of the period reveals the fact that this anthem of Byrd's is to be found in the Christ Church library in a manuscript dating as early as 1581–5, and the text of it is *O Lord, make thy servant Elizabeth.* That the whole

[1] Tenbury MSS. 1023.

[2] *Our Church Music*, by R. R. Terry, London Catholic Truth Society.

contention was absurd can be demonstrated in a hundred ways.

The remainder of Byrd's English anthems have survived only in manuscript among the various collections of part-books in our leading libraries and in the Cathedrals. Some of these are very similar in design to those settings of metrical psalms which are to be found in Leighton's book, but there are also a few that are of an important character; for example, *Arise, O Lord, why sleepest thou?* is a fine bit of polyphonic writing. This composition is entirely distinct from Byrd's magnificent motet *Exsurge Domine*, which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was also to be found in a manuscript as early as 1607 in an English version. Fifteen of Byrd's English anthems have recently been printed in the Carnegie edition of *Tudor Church Music*,[1] and a further instalment is promised in a later volume of the same series. A large number are also printed in the three volumes of Byrd's works in the English Madrigal School Series.[2]

[1] *Tudor Church Music*, Vol. II, Oxford University Press.

[2] *The English Madrigal School*, Vols. XIV—XVI, edited by E. H. Fellowes. Stainer & Bell.

CHURCH MUSIC BY WILLIAM BYRD FOR THE ENGLISH RITES

(*a*) *Responses, &c.*

First Preces and Psalms.
Second Preces and Psalms.
Preces and Responses.
Litany for four voices.

(*b*) *Services.*

Short Service.
- Venite.
- Te Deum.
- Benedictus.
- Kyrie.
- Creed.
- Sanctus (authenticity very doubtful).
- Magnificat.
- Nunc Dimittis.

Second Service 'with Verses to the Organ'.
- Magnificat.
- Nunc Dimittis.

Third Service. 'Mr. Bird's Three Minnoms.'
- Magnificat.
- Nunc Dimittis.

Great Service.
- Venite.
- Te Deum.
- Benedictus.
- Kyrie.
- Creed.
- Magnificat.
- Nunc Dimittis.

Service in F (Fragments only, in Peterhouse MSS.).
- Te Deum.
- Benedictus.

(c) *Anthems, Psalms, Carols, &c.*

(*a*) *Psalms, Sonnets, and Songs*, 1588. (*b*) *Songs of Sundry Natures*, 1589. (*c*) *Psalms, Songs, and Sonnets*, 1611. (*d*) Leighton's *Tears or Lamentations*, 1614. (*e*) Barnard's *Selected Church Music*, 1641. (*f*) Printed in the Carnegie edition of *Tudor Church Music*, Vol. II, with complete references to manuscripts. (*g*) Transcribed from manuscripts, with full references to the original sources, by the Editorial Committee of the Carnegie edition.

An earthly tree a heavenly fruit. (*b*)

And as the pleasant morning dew (2nd part of Behold how good). (*b*)

Arise, Lord, into thy rest. (*c*)

Arise, O Lord, why sleepest thou? (*f*)

Arise, O Lord, why sleepest thou? (*g*). (Another setting adapted from Exsurge Domine.)

Attend mine humble prayer. (*b*)

Be unto me, O Lord, a tower. (*d*)

Behold how good a thing it is. (*b*)

Behold, O God. (*f*)

Be still, my blessed Babe (2nd part of Lullaby). (*a*)

Blessed is he that fears the Lord. (*a*)

Blow the trumpet (2nd part of Sing joyfully). (*e*)

Blow up the trumpet (2nd part of Sing we merrily). (*c*)

Bow thine ear (adapted from Civitas sancti tui). (*e*) [2nd part of O Lord, turn thy wrath (Ne irascaris).]

Cast off all doubtful care (2nd part of An earthly tree). (*b*)

Christ is risen from the dead (2nd part of Christ rising again). (*b*)

Christ rising again. (*b*)

Come help, O God. (*d*)

Come, let us rejoice. (*c*)

Even from the depth. (*a*)

Have mercy on us, O Lord. (*g*)

Have mercy upon me, O God. (*c*)
Hear my prayer, O God. (*e*), (*f*)
Hear my prayer, O God (Free chant setting). (*e*), (*f*)
Help, Lord, for wasted. (*a*)
Help us, O God (2nd part of Arise, O Lord). (*f*)
How long shall mine enemies? (*f*)
How shall a young man? (*a*)
I have been young. (*c*)
I laid me down. (*d*)
I will give laud. (*g*)
Let God arise. (*g*)
Lift up your heads. (*f*) (Adapted from Attollite portas.)
Look down, O Lord. (*d*)
Lord, hear my prayer instantly. (*b*)
Lord, in thy rage rebuke me not. (*b*)
Lord, in thy wrath correct me not. (*b*)
Lord, in thy wrath reprove me not. (*a*)
Lord, to thee I make my moan. (*g*)
Lullaby, my sweet little Baby. (*a*)
Make ye joy to God. (*c*)
Mine eyes with fervency of sprite. (*a*)
My faults, O Christ. (*g*)
My soul oppressed. (*a*)
O clap your hands together (Free chant setting). (*e*), (*f*)
O give thanks.
O God, give ear and do apply. (*a*)
O God, give ear. (*a*)
O God, that guides the cheerful sun. (*c*)
O God, the proud. (*f*)
O God, which art most merciful. (*b*)
O God, whom our offences. (*e*), (*f*)
O heavenly God. (*g*)
O Lord, bow down thy heavenly eyes. (*g*)
O Lord God of Israel (adapted from Ave verum). (*g*)
O Lord, how long wilt thou forget? (*a*)

O Lord, how long? (*g*)
O Lord, make thy servant Elizabeth. (*e*), (*f*)
O Lord my God, let flesh and blood. (*b*)
O Lord, rebuke me not. (*e*), (*f*)
O Lord, turn thy wrath (adapted from Ne irascaris). (*e*), (*g*)
O Lord, who in thy sacred tent. (*a*)
O Lord, within thy tabernacle. (*g*)
O that men would therefore praise.
O praise our Lord, ye saints. (*g*)
Out of the deep.
Praise our Lord, all ye Gentiles. (*c*)
Prevent us, O Lord. (*e*), (*f*)
Prostrate, O Lord, I lie. (*a*)
Rejoice, rejoice, with heart and voice (2nd part of From Virgin's womb). (*b*)
Right blest are they. (*b*)
Save me, O God. (*f*)
Save me, O God (Free chant setting). (*e*), (*f*)
Sing joyfully. (*e*), (*f*)
Sing we merrily. (*c*)
Sing ye to our Lord. (*c*)
Teach me, O Lord (Free chant setting). (*e*), (*f*)
The Lord is only my support. (*g*)
The man is blest. (*g*)
This day Christ was born. (*c*)
Thou God that guid'st both heaven and earth. (*f*)
Turn our captivity. (*c*)
Unto the hills mine eyes I lift. (*b*)
When Israel came out of Egypt (Free chant setting). (*e*), (*f*)

The following anthems are erroneously attributed to Byrd in some manuscripts:

Deliver me from mine enemies. R. Parsons.
Like as the hart.
O Absalom, my son. H. Lawes.

IV

THE MADRIGALS AND SONGS

BYRD may be regarded as the actual founder of the great school of English madrigal composers. It seems strange that the madrigal should so long have been in vogue in Italy before English musicians turned their attention to this particular class of composition. The Italian school dates from about the year 1535 when Verdelot published a volume of madrigals. But the English composers throughout the following half-century, characterized as it was by acute religious controversy and persecution, occupied themselves almost wholly with writing music for the Church. During this same period there was a large output of Italian madrigals and Englishmen were content to sing these rather than to encourage native work. In the very earliest years of Elizabeth's reign, when Byrd was scarcely more than a youth, we have evidence that English people sang Italian madrigals, and rather later it became the fashion to adapt these compositions to English words. A few English madrigals of a simple character were undoubtedly written by such composers as Tallis and Tye, and Richard

Edwards's *In going to my naked bed* is a very early Elizabethan work; but for some reason the English madrigal did not excite public interest in anything like the same measure as the Italian music did, and nothing of any note found its way into print.

It was Byrd who first among the English composers turned his attention seriously to madrigals, and it was he who wrote the first English madrigal that was published under that exact designation. This was in 1588, the year in which the Spanish Armada was defeated. Byrd was then forty-five years old. In that year Nicholas Yonge published his first collection of Italian madrigals adapted to English words under the title of *Musica Transalpina* and he included in it an English version of an Italian madrigal written by Byrd, *The fair young virgin* (part 1) and *But not so soon* (part 2); this was in consequence the first English work of the kind to be published under the title of Madrigal. In the same year Byrd himself produced a volume of his own compositions entitled 'Psalmes, Sonets, & songs of Sadnes and | pietie, made into Musicke of five parts: whereof, | some of them going abroade among divers, in untrue coppies | are heere truely corrected, and th'other being Songs | very rare and newly composed, are heere pub-

lished, for the recreation | of all such as delight in Musicke: By William Byrd, | one of the Gent of the Queenes Maiesties | honorable Chappell. | Printed by Thomas East the assigne of W. Byrd, | and are to be sold at the dwelling house of the said T. East, by Paules Wharfe. | 1588.' This volume was dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton and is prefaced by the author's reasons to persuade every one to sing. Various reprints have recently made these 'reasons' widely known, but they should not in consequence be omitted here.

¶ Reasons briefly set down by th' auctor, to perswade every one to learne to sing.

FIrst it is a knowledge easely taught, and quickly learned where there is a good Master, and an apt Scoller.

2. The exercise of singing is delightfull to Nature & good to preserve the health of Man.
3. It doth strengthen all the parts of the brest, & doth open the pipes.
4. It is a singular good remedie for a stutting & stammering in the speech.
5. It is the best meanes to procure a perfect pronunciation & to make a good Orator.
6. It is the onely way to know where Nature hath bestowed the benefit of a good voyce: which guift is so rare, as there is not one among a thousand, that hath it: and in many, that excellent guift is lost, because they want Art to expresse Nature.
7. There is not any Musicke of Instruments whatsoever, comparable to that which is made of the voyces of Men,

where the voyces are good, and the same well sorted and ordered.

8. The better the voyce is, the meeter it is to honour and serve God there-with: and the voyce of man is chiefely to be imployed to that ende.

omnis spiritus laudet Dominum.

Since singing is so good a thing
I wish all men would learne to sing.

The set contains thirty-five compositions; several of these are to be found in a manuscript collection[1] which bears the date 1581, and as the title-page also states that many of them had been 'going abroade . . . in untrue coppies' we may assume that in 1588, when a favourable opportunity for publication had arisen, Byrd made up his volume with compositions both old and new, and some of them may represent quite early work. In this set he included *La virginella*, the Italian version of the madrigal which Yonge published to English words in *Musica Transalpina*.

The title of this volume has been much misunderstood, and this may be one of the causes why Byrd's work as a madrigalist has been so commonly undervalued in the past. This misunderstanding had an early origin, for it was based originally on a statement made by Henry

[1] Christ Church, Oxford, MSS. 984–8.

Peacham in 1622 in the *Compleat Gentleman*[1] that 'For Motetts and Musicke of pietie and devotion as well for the honour of our Nation, as the merit of the man, I prefer above all our *Phoenix* M. William Byrd, whom in that kind I know not whether any may equall . . . and being of him selfe naturally disposed to Gravitie and Pietie, his veine is not so much for light Madrigals or Canzonets, yet his *Virginella* and some others of his first Set cannot be mended by the best Italian of them all'. Peacham's statement has itself been misinterpreted, for it was taken by Hawkins and Burney, the eighteenth-century historians, to mean that Byrd was unable to write effectively the lighter type of madrigal. In point of fact Peacham gave high praise to Byrd as a madrigalist when he said that *La Virginella* and other bright madrigals in this first set could not be matched by the best of the Italians, and his statement holds true in the light of modern criticism; moreover, when we look beyond the first set, in which was included that masterpiece of gay madrigal-writing *Though Amaryllis dance in green*, such madrigals as *This sweet and merry month of May* (especially the six-part setting), *Come, jolly swains*, *While that the sun*, *Awake, mine eyes*, *I thought that Love had been a boy*,

[1] Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman*, p. 100.

and many more readily suggest themselves as evidence that Byrd could do the light style as well as the others when he wished.

But, referring again to the title of the first set, it must be carefully observed that the phrase 'Songs of Sadnes and Pietie' does not refer to the whole book but only to one section of it. The book was divided into four sections: the first was made up of ten Psalms; the next sixteen pieces were denoted 'Sonets and Pastorales'; the third section consisted of 'Songes of Sadnes and Pietie', and there were only seven numbers in this section; and the book concluded with two 'Funerall Songs of Syr Phillip Sidney'. The abbreviated title that came into general use to describe the book omitted the mention of Pastorals, and for this reason gave the impression that everything in the book except the Psalms were sonnets and songs of sadness and piety. Consequently Hawkins made the comment that the contents of the set were 'in general as he terms them', meaning that they were dull; and further that only 'twice in his life' did Byrd make 'an essay of his talent for light music'. Apart from the light madrigals already quoted, and many more besides, Hawkins must have been ignorant of the dialogue *Who made thee, Hob, forsake the plough?* which is light to the verge of frivolity,

and of the exquisitely light touch which is displayed in the song *My little sweet darling.*

But when it has been clearly stated, as it needs to be, that Byrd could write as well as the best of his contemporaries in the light vein, for even Wilbye never did anything better in that style than the six-part *This sweet and merry month of May*, it is certainly true to say that Byrd preferred work of a more serious nature ; and in this direction he evolved a type of serious madrigal which was quite unlike anything that the rest of the English composers produced. Byrd's madrigalian work may be divided into three classes : firstly, there was the light madrigal, examples of which have already been mentioned ; secondly, there was the graver type of subject of which *Come, woeful Orpheus* is a splendid example. In character this corresponds to Weelkes's *O Care, thou wilt despatch me* or to Wilbye's *Oft have I vowed.* And, thirdly, there is that class which he himself called ' Songs of sadness and piety '. Wilbye's *Happy, O happy he* is perhaps the nearest approach to this type of composition that can be found outside Byrd's works. In subject, this class of work in Byrd's hands is often associated with religious ideas and sentiment, yet it is never quite an anthem or motet. Mention has already been made of a similar experiment in relation to

the motet which he essayed with *Infelix ego*. A noble example of such a work with English words is *Why do I use my paper, ink, and pen?* The words of the first stanza, out of the three which make up the poem,[1] are worth quoting:

> Why do I use my paper, ink, and pen,
> And call my wits to counsel what to say?
> Such memories were made for mortal men,
> I speak of saints whose names cannot decay.
> An angel's trump were fitter for to sound
> Their glorious death, if such on earth were found.

Byrd has treated this subject with splendid dignity and breadth; the work is full of fine phrases, and it passes from climax to climax culminating at the words *their glorious death*; and the final cadence is of great strength and beauty, the tenor holding the suspended minor sixth against the major third of the final chord.

Other fine examples of this particular kind of work by Byrd are *If that a sinner's sighs were angel's food*, which ends with a tender phrase expressive of Peter 'weeping bitterly'; and, somewhat different in character, but belonging to the same class, is *Alack, when I look back*, set to words by Hunnis.

Like Weelkes, Morley, and other madrigal-

[1] For complete words see the author's *English Madrigal Verse*. Clarendon Press.

writers, Byrd composed two elegies, his subject being Sir Philip Sidney. The first of these is quite short and its simple opening is very melodious and beautiful. Sidney's death occurred in 1586, and Byrd's elegies probably were written at that date although they were not printed until 1588.

Byrd published two other volumes containing madrigals, but although secular work preponderated in these three sets, they all include some religious compositions, selected more particularly from the Psalms. The second set followed the first in the next year. The title was as follows: 'Songs of sundrie natures, some of | gravitie, and others of myrth, fit for all compa | nies and voyces. Lately made and composed in | to Musicke of 3. 4. 5. and 6. parts: and pub | lished for the delight of all such as take plea | sure in the exercise of | that Art. | By William Byrd, one of the Gentlemen | of the Queenes Maiesties honorable | Chappell. | Imprinted at London by Thomas | East, the assigne of William Byrd, and are to be | sold at the house of the sayd T. East, being in | Aldersgate streete, at the signe of the | blacke Horse. 1589.' This volume was dedicated to Lord Hunsdon. It contains an address 'to the Curteous Reader' in which Byrd stated that the first set 'hath had good passage and

utterance'; and indeed it must have had a good reception to justify the publication of this large second set so soon afterwards. There are as many as forty-seven pieces in this book. The 'Songs of sundry natures' were designed by the composer, as he tells us, 'to serve for all companies and voyces: whereof some are easie and plaine to sing, other more hard and difficult, but all, such as any yong practicioner in singing, with a little foresight, may easely performe'. Modern singers and choral societies have become so accustomed to the normal outlay of four voices, treble, alto, tenor, and bass, that it is well to recall the fact that the Elizabethan musicians, as Byrd explains in this passage, designed their music for all kinds of combinations of voices, and their intention in this matter should be respected and followed. There is great scope for variety of tone-colour and for other choral effects opened up by these combinations, expressly intended by the composer 'to delight thee with varietie', and it is a great mistake to put aside a large proportion of the Elizabethan madrigals just because the combination of voices is not in conformity with modern conventions.

Byrd's third and last volume of this class was published in 1611. As much as twenty-two years

had elapsed since the 'Songs of Sundry Natures' had been produced, and in the meantime by far the greater part of the work of the English madrigalists had been issued including all the publications of Morley, Weelkes, and Wilbye. Dowland, too, had brought out three out of four of his books of songs. Byrd when this final volume was issued was sixty-eight years of age, and he seems to have been very little influenced, if at all, by those harmonic innovations in the development of which Weelkes and Dowland had played so important a part. But it must be remembered that much of the music printed in the 1611 set would have been written earlier, and that the collection represents the accumulation of work composed during the intervening period. At the same time this volume is the finest of the three; this fact is especially noticeable in the five- and six-part sections which contain several of Byrd's finest English anthems. *Come, woeful Orpheus* for five voices is in this book and is certainly one of the most beautiful of Byrd's madrigals. In this composition he introduced chromatic harmonies after the manner of Weelkes and Wilbye, and the general treatment of this madrigal is far more passionate than is usual in Byrd's work. This volume contains a larger proportion of light madrigals than the two

other sets. It was entitled: 'Psalmes, Songs, and | Sonnets: some solemne, others | ioyfull, framed to the life of the | words: Fit for Voyces or Viols of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts | Composed by William Byrd, one of the | Gent. of his Maiesties honourable | Chappell. | 1611 | London | Printed by Thomas Snodham, the Assigne | of W. Barley.' It was dedicated to Francis, Lord Cumberland, and in the customary address to his patron Byrd remarked that 'these are like to be my last Travailes in this kind and your Lordship my last Patron'. Though Byrd lived another twelve years this proved to be the case.

Two other extracts from Byrd's addresses to his readers in these volumes are sufficiently interesting to mention here. One of these refers to critics and one to audiences. Both are as true and as much to the point to-day as they were when Byrd first wrote them. In 1588 he wrote: 'If in the composition of these Songs, there be any fault by me committed, I desire the skilfull, either with courtesie to let the same be concealed, or in friendly sort to be thereof admonished: and at the next Impression he shal finde the error reformed: remembring alwaies, that it is more easie to finde a fault then (*sc.* than) to amend it.' The reference to audiences is in the 1611 volume. Byrd desired 'that you will be as careful to hear

them well expressed as I have been both in the Composing and correcting them. Otherwise the best Song that ever was made will seeme harsh and unpleasant. . . . Besides a song that is well and artificially made cannot be well perceived nor understood at the first hearing, but the oftner you shall heare it, the better cause of liking you will discover.'

A good number of Byrd's secular vocal compositions have survived in manuscript; many of them will be found included in the list at the end of this chapter, but research in this department is by no means completed yet. One large collection in the British Museum [1] in lute-tablature, containing over fifty of Byrd's compositions, includes some that are not known elsewhere. It was customary at the close of the sixteenth century to arrange all kinds of music, including vocal music both sacred and secular, for the lute exactly as has been the case in more modern days with pianoforte arrangements.

One madrigal attributed to Byrd in two manuscripts in the British Museum [2] begins with the words *Crowned with flowers* (one manuscript reads *stars*) *and lilies*; the poem is an elegy on Queen Mary, 'of Henry great the

[1] British Museum Add. MS. 31992.

[2] British Museum Add. MSS. 18936–9 and Egerton 2009–12.

daughter,' as the poem describes her. It seems unlikely that words of this personal character would have been set to music after any lapse of time, yet, as Mary died in 1558, Byrd would have been no more than fifteen years of age when he wrote it. It must be remembered that he was appointed organist of Lincoln before he was of age, and there is every reason to suppose that some of his compositions would have been written as early as that. *Ye sacred Muses* is stated to have been written on the death of Tallis. *As Caesar wept* is ascribed in most manuscripts to Byrd, but in British Museum Add. MSS. 18936–9 Tallis is given as the composer.

Byrd's innovations in the direction of 'verse' anthems and services in the department of English Church music have been discussed in a former chapter, but he was also one of the first to experiment in the use of the solo-voice for secular song in conjunction with a definite accompaniment for viols. The art-song differs fundamentally from the folk-song inasmuch as in the art-song the melody is associated with a definite accompaniment which forms an integral part of the composition as a whole. The evolution of the art-song in its early stages was left, generally speaking, to the amateur rather than the professional musicians, whose energies were

for various reasons directed almost entirely to the more serious and complex types of composition. The development of song was left in the hands of the *Troubadours*, the *Trouvères*, and the *Jongleurs*, the latter dealing with the lighter kinds of songs. The *Frottole* in Italy were probably the first to write definite accompaniments to their songs; the accompanying instrument in their case was the lute. Among the first printed songs with a definite lute accompaniment designed by the composer as an integral part of the composition were those of Luys Milan about the year 1535. It was on this foundation that the work of John Dowland and of the other great English lutanists was built some sixty years later. But in this line of development the accompanying instrument was always the lute, associated in the later stages with a stringed instrument to give additional weight to the bass part. Dowland introduced a further feature by adding a treble viol, as in his wonderful song *From silent night*.[1] The Virginal seems never to have been regarded as an instrument for accompanying song before the middle of the seventeenth century. But the use of a body of bowed instruments as an accompaniment to a

[1] Dowland's *A Pilgrime's Solace*, No. 10, edited by E. H. Fellowes. Winthrop Rogers, Ltd.

single voice was first exploited in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and as stated above Byrd was among the early pioneers if not actually the first English composer to treat the art-song on these lines. It is not always possible to judge from the available manuscripts whether the music of the part-books was always intended to be played on viols in those cases in which no words are written under the music except in one single book, and the problem is complicated by the fact that in many of these cases duplicate text exists in which words are given in all the parts, and it is certain that the composition is purely vocal. For this reason the solo songs are not separated from the madrigals in the lists of Byrd's works with which this chapter concludes. Yet there are instances in which no doubt can exist. One of these is *My little sweet darling*, which is found in the set of part-books at Christ Church, Oxford, which date from 1581,[1] and also in a set in the British Museum.[2] In many of these early instrumental accompaniments, more especially in the short 'verses' in the church music, the instrumental phrases were borrowed from the voice-part and used in imitation after the manner of the contrapuntal writing of that

[1] Christ Church, Oxford, MSS. 984–8.

[2] British Museum Add. MSS. 17786–91.

date; but in *My little sweet darling* the accompaniment is absolutely independent in character and obviously designed to be so. This composition occupies an exceedingly important place in the history of song, especially as it must have been written about 1581 if not earlier. The composer had no hesitation whatever in taking the accompanying instruments above the compass of the voice, although it must be remembered that this is one of those effects which may sound beautiful on strings but quite the reverse on a keyed-instrument. Apart from historical and other academic considerations this exquisite little art-song is a perfect thing in its own line; and the accompaniment cannot be surpassed as a model of what a simple accompaniment to a song should be; it has its own importance and interest, yet it is always subordinate to the voice.

Among other songs of Byrd with string accompaniment are *Methought of late in sleep I saw a dame*; *O that we woeful wretches*; *Ah, silly soul*; *How vain the toils*; and the duet *Who made thee, Hob, forsake the plough?* Of the Christmas carols, alluded to in Chapter III, *From Virgin's womb this day did spring* is for solo voice and chorus, *An earthly tree a heavenly fruit it bore* is for duet and chorus, and the New Year's carol *O God, that guides the cheerful sun* is another

example of solo-song with chorus. In 1579 Byrd wrote a song for Thomas Legge's play *Ricardus Tertius*. Enough has in any case been said to prove that among his many incursions into new fields not the least remarkable was that which led Byrd to become one of the earliest of all *lieder*-writers.

One other kind of composition must be mentioned in this chapter, namely, the Canons. Almost all these were set to sacred words, but *Come, drink to me*, a canon for four voices, was printed by John Hilton in his *Catch as catch can* and ascribed to Byrd; and *Hey ho to the greenwood* is a catch or canon attributed to Byrd in several eighteenth-century manuscripts; it is stated to have been found in John Lant's collection made in 1580. One very interesting piece of music, however, falls under this same head; it is an elaborate type of round, more like a Passacaglia perhaps than any other musical form, for it is really a set of instrumental variations on a definite short phrase. It is described in all the manuscripts as *Browning. The leaves be green.* The words are omitted in some of the manuscripts, but in some others there is just an indication of the entry. Very good text of this piece, which is in five parts, is to be found in British Museum Add. MSS. 17792–6, where the

words are given in full at each entry of the several parts. The words are no more than doggerel, 'The leaves be green, the nuts be brown, they hang so high they will not come down.' The bass voice by itself has the refrain first, and each voice enters in turn when the refrain has been completed by the previous voice; throughout the composition no two voices ever sing simultaneously, but the five-part writing is complete throughout, four parts at a time being instrumental. Thomas Tomkins, Byrd's famous pupil, made a score of 'Browning',[1] but he omitted the words; he noted that it was 'a most excellent peice' and described it as 'a grownd'.

MADRIGALS, 'SONGS OF PIETY', SONGS, SECULAR CANONS, BY WILLIAM BYRD

1588. Psalms, Sonnets, and Songs to Five Parts

Sonnets and Pastorals.

I joy not in no earthly bliss.
Though Amaryllis dance in green.
Who likes to love.
My mind to me a kingdom is.
Where fancy fond.
O you that hear this voice.
If women could be fair.
Ambitious love.
What pleasure have great princes?

[1] British Museum Add. MS. 29996.

As I beheld I saw a herdman.
Although the heathen poets.
In fields abroad.
Constant Penelope.
La virginella.
Farewell, false love.
The match that 's made.

Songs of sadness and piety.

Prostrate, O Lord, I lie.
All as a sea.
Susanna fair.
If that a sinner's sighs.
Care for thy soul.
Lullaby, my sweet little Baby. *part* 1.
Be still, my blessed Babe. *part* 2.
Why do I use my paper, ink, and pen?

Funeral songs of Sir Philip Sidney.

Come to me, grief, for ever.
O that most rare breast.

1589. Songs of Sundry Natures

Songs of three parts.

Susanna fair.
The nightingale so pleasant.
When younglings first. *part* 1.
But when by proof. *part* 2.
Upon a summer's day. *part* 1.
Then for a boat. *part* 2.
The greedy hawk.

Songs of four parts.

Is Love a boy? *part* 1.
Boy, pity me. *part* 2.

Wounded I am. *part* 1.
Yet of us twain. *part* 2.
From Citharon the warlike boy. *part* 1.
There careless thoughts. *part* 2.
If Love be just. *part* 3
While that the sun.

Songs of five parts.

Weeping full sore.
Penelope that longed.
Compel the hawk to sit.
See those sweet eyes. *part* 1.
Love would discharge. *part* 2.
When I was otherwise.
When first by force.
I thought that Love had been a boy.
O dear life, when may it be?
Of gold all burnished. *part* 1.
Her breath is more sweet. *part* 2.

Songs of six parts.

Who made thee, Hob, forsake the plough?
And think, ye nymphs. *part* 1.
Love is a fit of pleasure. *part* 2.
If in thine heart.

1611. Psalms, Songs, and Sonnets

Songs of three parts.

The eagle's force.
Of flattering speech.
In winter cold. *part* 1.
Whereat an ant. *part* 2.
Who looks may leap.
In crystal towers.

Songs of four parts.

This sweet and merry month.
Let not the sluggish sleep.
A feigned friend.
Awake, mine eyes.
Come, jolly swains.
What is life?

Songs of five parts.

Retire, my soul.
Come, woeful Orpheus.
Crowned with flowers I saw.
Wedded to Will is Witless.

Songs of six parts.

Ah, silly soul.
How vain the toils.

1588. Included in Yonge's MUSICA TRANSALPINA

The fair young virgin. *part* 1.
But not so soon. *part* 2.

1590. Included in Watson's ITALIAN MADRIGALS ENGLISHED

This sweet and merry month (*six voices*).

1652. Included in Hilton's CATCH AS CATCH CAN

Come, drink to me.

IN MANUSCRIPT

(*a*) British Museum. (*b*) Christ Church, Oxford. (*c*) St. Michael's College, Tenbury. (*d*) Durham Cathedral. (*e*) R.C.M. (*f*) Bodleian Library.

Ah (or Oh) golden hairs. (*a*), (*b*), (*f*)
Ah youthful years. (*a*)
Alack! when I look back. (*a*), (*d*), (*e*)
An aged dame. (*a*)

As Caesar wept. (*a*), (*f*)
Blame I confess. (*b*)
Browning (The leaves be green). (*a*), (*b*), (*c*)
Come tread the path. (*c*)
Crowned with flowers (stars) and lilies. *part* 1. (*a*)
O worthy Queen. *part* 2. (*a*)
Delight is dead. (*a*)
Depart. (*a*)
Hey ho! to the greenwood. (*a*)
If trickling tears. (*c*)
In tower most high. (*a*)
Let fortune fail. *part* 1. (*a*)
My years do seek. *part* 2. (*a*)
Look and bow down. (*a*)
Methought of late in sleep I saw. (*a*)
Mount, hope. (*a*)
My faults, O Christ. (*b*), (*f*)
My freedom, ah. (*a*)
My little sweet darling. (*a*), (*b*)
O God, but God how dare I. (*a*), (*f*)
O happy thrice. (*a*), (*f*)
O heavenly God. (*c*)
O Lord, how vain are all. (*b*), (*f*)
O sweet deceit. *part* 1. (*a*)
Like Harpies vile. *part* 2. (*a*)
O that we woeful wretches. (*a*)
O vain the toil. (*a*)
Penelope ever was praised. *part* 1. (*a*)
Not Cupid with his wanton wings. *part* 2. (*a*)
Sith death of all shall have the spoil. (*a*)
Sith that the tree. (*a*)
The day delayed. (*a*), (*b*)
The leaves be green. (*a*), (*b*); (*c*)
Triumph with pleasant melody. (*b*), (*f*)
Truce for a time. (*a*), (*f*)

What steps of strife. (*a*)
What vaileth it to rule the cities? (*a*)
What wytes. (*a*)
When Phoebus first. (*a*)
While Phoebus used to dwell. (*b*)
While that a cruel fire. (*a*)
Whom hateful harms. (*a*)
With sighs and tears. (*a*)
With unacquainted cheerful voice. (*b*)
Ye sacred Muses. (*a*)

A song of two basses (no words). (*b*)

V

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

TO discuss the instrumental music of Byrd is a difficult matter, because much research work still remains to be done, and many manuscripts still need to be collated before any list can be drawn up that approaches accuracy or completion as regards this class of composition. This is especially the case in reference to the *In Nomines*, for without a thematic index it is obviously impossible to identify and classify the various compositions of this description which are scattered about in different libraries. The lists at the conclusion of the present chapter must therefore be regarded as no more than a preliminary step towards the compilation of an exhaustive list. The list of virginal music on the other hand may be regarded as being fairly complete.[1]

The large amount of instrumental work which Byrd wrote both for viols and for the keyboard instrument of his day is very impressive. The

[1] This latter list is compiled from a carefully collated card-index made by Mr. Gerald Cooper, which was kindly placed by him at the author's disposal.

importance of his compositions for the virginal has been generally recognized, as a direct result of the publication of the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* under the editorship of Mr. Fuller-Maitland and Mr. W. Barclay Squire, but that Byrd wrote so much for strings will come as a surprise to most musicians.

Instrumental music, whether for the keyboard or for strings, written in the Elizabethan and early Jacobean period must necessarily be judged from a somewhat different point of view to that from which the vocal music of the same period is considered. For vocal music in the hands of the Italian, Flemish, and English composers of the sixteenth century was brought to the highest possible point of development; beyond that point the polyphonic style never has been, and never will be, carried. On the other hand, beautiful and interesting as much of the instrumental music of the Elizabethans is, it cannot be pretended that they advanced a very great distance along the road which we are in a position to look back on in the twentieth century, although they made a wonderful start upon it. That they achieved what they did, especially when we remember the limitations of the musical instruments of their day, gives us ample cause to regard their work with the highest admiration. There

were no traditions for them to inherit, and it was their task to design and to lay the very foundations of instrumental composition, as something distinct in style from vocal music. They were under the necessity of developing an entirely new technique for the instruments of the day, and also of finding out new forms and designs in which to express themselves. And they succeeded amazingly. Yet they did no more than lay a foundation on which a great structure was gradually raised by the great builders who followed them in three succeeding centuries. Byrd, Farnaby, Bull, and Gibbons in keyboard music laid the foundations on which Bach, Handel, Beethoven, and the rest built so gloriously in later times. Again, Byrd, Tomkins, Ward, Dering, and Martin Peerson did splendid pioneer work in chamber-music for strings, and these did in fact produce compositions of much interest and beauty, while at the same time they were preparing the way for the developments which culminated in the great string quartets of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, and Brahms.

Foremost among these English pioneers in these particular fields was Byrd, both as regards chamber-music for strings and also for the keyboard instruments ; the combination of these

two was not attempted until a later date, nor was the experiment of combining wind instruments and strings embarked upon until well into the seventeenth century.

Primitive man discovered very early in the history of civilization that he could produce musical sounds similar to those of the human voice by mechanical contrivances. The musical properties of the pipe and reed were exploited in various ways in prehistoric times; and that a vibrating string would produce a musical note is another fact that must have been found out very soon by the human race. But just as song was developed on monodic lines for thousands of years before musicians had the inspiration to perceive what wonderful possibilities were opened up by the simultaneous use of several sounds uttered by voices in combination, so also was instrumental music limited to melodic performance varied only by the occasional accompaniment of a pedal or drone and the rhythmic beat of a drum or some other percussion instrument. Practically speaking, it was not until the fifteenth century that the musicians of the Western world began to experiment seriously with the idea of combined melody, but before the close of the sixteenth century they had carried their developments to the highest levels of excellence.

During a large part of this period composers were occupied solely with vocal music, it was only in the latter part of the sixteenth century that they turned their attention to combining instruments on similar principles. When in England and other European countries it became the fashion to play together as well as to sing together; and when wealthy persons formed the habit of keeping a 'chest of viols' as part of their household furniture, so that they and their guests after supper might take part in a 'consort of viols' as an alternative to joining in a madrigal, it was at first the custom to play on instruments the music that was primarily designed for voices for lack of anything more suitable. It was with this idea in their minds that composers took to describing their works as being 'apt for voices or viols'. Many of the madrigals are quite effective when played on bowed instruments, but every string player must feel conscious of the poverty of the technique of instrumental music written on purely vocal lines. The composers were not slow to observe this, but it was not much before the close of the sixteenth century that an independent style of technique began to be evolved for string music. There are a large number of fantasies and other instrumental pieces surviving in manuscript in the British Museum and else-

where, showing that in the early part of the seventeenth century such Englishmen as Ward, Tomkins, Dering, and Martin Peerson were among the most notable instrumental composers of their day ; but these were all born many years after Byrd, and it is almost certainly true that Byrd's fine fantasias were of earlier date than theirs ; and here again Byrd is conspicuous as the particular genius who could not only strike out a new line but achieve great success in it.

Two of Byrd's six-part fantasias stand out as his best works in the realm of chamber-music. The most interesting and attractive of the two is that which he published among his *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets* in 1611 ; it is also to be found in manuscripts of an earlier date than this. It may be said to consist of three short movements which follow each other without any break, and the composition ends with a brief little *coda*. The opening movement begins in G minor with a quietly flowing phrase taken up by the different instruments in fugal style. After a close in G major a second and somewhat syncopated subject is introduced, which in turn closes eventually in D major ; a third and slightly brighter subject follows, and for some bars the key is B flat returning to G minor and major. The second movement is of a very gay character

in six-four time equivalent to a bright six-eight time in modern notation; each instrument has its fair share in the gaiety of the subjects. The scheme of modulations in this second movement is particularly interesting in relation to the history of 'form'. Opening in G minor it passes to B flat major, then back through C major to a close in G major; then it goes through C major to F major, G minor and D minor, ending in G major. The third movement, which also follows without any break after the second, is made up on a straightforward eight-bar melody of a very beautiful character in triple measure like a saraband. It was most probably a well-known tune in Byrd's time; except for a section in C major there is little modulation in this final movement.

The other of these two fantasias is designed upon very similar lines; the first movement reaches a climax with the introduction of the tune 'Greensleeves', and the final movement is based on a tune very similar to 'Walsingham'. Enough has been said to emphasize the very important part played by Byrd in the early history of chamber-music. His other compositions for instruments are less interesting, but at the time of writing so few of them have been scored that it is not possible to attempt any critical notice

of them. The lists at the end of this chapter show that Byrd wrote several string sestets, quintets, quartets, and trios. The *In Nomine* was a composition for strings written upon a certain plain-song melody; it was much in vogue all through the sixteenth century and was of a somewhat academic character. Almost every English composer of note in that century has left examples of such work. Byrd wrote several for five and four parts, and one of his is for a septet. As already mentioned, the manuscripts in various libraries have yet to be collated before a complete list of Byrd's *In Nomines* can be drawn up. What has already been done points to the special popularity of one or two of these; for instance, one of those in four parts is to be found in more than one manuscript in the British Museum, as well as in the Christ Church and Bodleian libraries, and at St. Michael's College, Tenbury.

Important as is Byrd's pioneer work in chamber-music his compositions for the virginal, which was the keyboard instrument of his day, are even more important; not only have they great value in relation to the historical aspect of the subject, but many of them are works of much beauty and character.

The virginal seems to have come into very

general use at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but it is unlikely that much definite music was composed for performance on it until the second half of that century; and no small proportion of what was played on the virginal for some time consisted of arrangements of vocal pieces, both sacred and secular. The earliest developments centred round these arrangements, florid passages and other characteristic devices being introduced. Another obvious device was to choose a well-known melody and invest it with suitable ornaments and graces. From this latter plan grew that important musical design known as Variation-form. It is often stated that this form was invented by Byrd; be that as it may, he was certainly one of the first, if not actually the first, to compose themes with variations.

A third type of virginal piece came from another very obvious source; the different kinds of popular dance measures created a constant demand for new music and they naturally appealed to composers as a medium for expressing themselves. Almans, Corantos, Pavans, Galliards, and other dances abound in the early collections of virginal music. In addition to all these types, the composers very soon evolved suitable music of an absolute and original character.

In all these kinds of virginal music Byrd was especially conspicuous, and his best work is always marked with distinctive style. He wrote an enormous amount of virginal pieces—well over a hundred compositions by him are to be found in the virginal books of the day. The most important of these collections are the Fitzwilliam Book, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge; the 'Lady Nevell' Book, which still is one of the treasured possessions of the Neville family at Eridge Park; and the William Forster Book, belonging to the Royal Library and now on permanent loan to the British Museum.

Among the most beautiful of Byrd's virginal pieces is a set of variations on the song-tune *O mistress mine*. A very remarkable feature of this composition is the employment of an absolutely simple restatement of the original melody as the final variation. It is a device which has been used by more modern composers with great effect, notably in the 'Death and the maiden' variations in Schubert's great D minor string quartet. But that Byrd should have thought of it in these very early days of instrumental music is one of the many things which stamp him as a supreme genius. Other fine sets of variations are those on *Sellinger's Round* and the *Carman's Whistle*. It is not to be contended that all

Byrd's work in this department is on the same level. One very curious composition is styled 'Mr. Bird's battaile'; it is specially interesting as being one of the earliest known examples of programme music. Much of it, however, is very trivial. It is made up of eleven consecutive numbers: (1) The Souldiers Summons; (2) The Martch of Foote; (3) The Martch of Horse; (4) The Trumpetts; (5) The Irish Martch; (6) Bagpipes; (7) The Martch to y^e^ Fight; (8) Tarra-tantarra; (9) Battell joyned; (10) Retrait; (11) Buryng of the dead.

The woods so wild was a very popular tune in Byrd's day; Byrd's setting of this is to be found in as many as five of the principal sources of text. Variations for the virginal were also written on this subject by Orlando Gibbons and other composers. It was introduced by John Dowland into the lute accompaniment of his song *Can she excuse my wrongs?* in a manner that in his time constituted a very novel device.

It seems doubtful whether Byrd wrote anything for the lute; he certainly does not appear to have written any 'airs' with lute accompaniment, but compositions of his are to be found in three lute-books in the British Museum[1] and

[1] British Museum Add. MSS. 29246, 29247, and 31992.

also in one at Tenbury.[1] It is more than probable that all these pieces are arrangements, yet three fantasias in the first named of these manuscripts may possibly be original compositions for the lute.

There are a number of small pieces by Byrd in short score in the hand of Thomas Tomkins in the British Museum Add. MS. 29996. These are described as being made 'upon the Fa burden of (certain) playne Songs'.[2] They may either have been intended to be played on the virginal or the organ, or the short score may have been made by Tomkins from string parts. It is evident that Tomkins thought highly of these pieces, for he has appended little comments after some of them. Thus he described No. 18 on *Summi largitor* as 'a daynty fine verse', and No. 19 on *Audi benigne* as 'a very good one'. These comments, coming from so great a musician as Tomkins, were something more than the expression of the pupil's admiration for his 'much reverenced master'; they reflect the considered opinion of a man who occupied a very high position among the younger members of the great Elizabethan school; and, in concluding this short notice of Byrd's work, we may take

[1] Tenbury MSS. 340.

[2] Almost all of these 'playne' song subjects were old English hymns found in the early collections at Salisbury and elsewhere.

our cue from Thomas Tomkins in offering a tribute of praise at this long distance of time. Even a cursory study of Byrd's music in its different departments fills us with amazement at its beauty, its originality, its ingenuity, its variety, and its quantity. Truly he was a 'Father of Musick' in a very wide sense; certainly, also, he is 'never to be named without reverence of the musicians'; he is one of the greatest of the world's composers.

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC BY WILLIAM BYRD

(*a*) For Viols.

The list of music for viols given here is admittedly incomplete. Much has yet to be done by way of collating the various manuscripts, especially in reference to the *In nomines*, before an exhaustive table of these works can be compiled.

Octet.

Heu mihi (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 31390).

Septet.

In Nomine (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 32377).

Sestets.

Three Fantasias.

1. Printed in the 1611 volume of *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets.*
2. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 17786–91 and Tenbury MSS.
3. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29996 (short score only).

Pavan and Galliard. Bodl. MS. Mus. Sch. e. 64–9.

Quintets.

Fantasia. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 17786–91.

Browning. The leaves be green (without voices). Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 17792–6.

Two Preludes :

1. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 17792–6.
2. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 32377.

In Nomines.

Four in Bodl. Mus. MSS., d. 212–16.
One in Bodl. Mus. MSS., e. 423.
One in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 32377.

Quartets.

Three Fantasias :

1. Printed in the 1611 volume of *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets.*
2. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29427.
3. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29427.

In Nomines.

Three in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 31390.
Two in Bodl. Mus. MSS., d. 212–16.

Trios.

Two Fantasias :

1. In Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29996.
2. In Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 34800.

N.B.—No attempt is made to give complete manuscript references to the above works, and a single reference will serve for the purpose of identification.

(*b*) For the Virginal.

(*a*) Parthenia. (*b*) The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. (*c*) Lady Nevell's Virginal Book. (*d*) Will Forster's Virginal Book. (*e*) Benjamin Cosyn's Virginal Book. (*f*) Christ Church, Oxford. (*g*) British Museum Add. MS. 30485. (*h*) The same, 30486. (*k*) The same, 31392. (*l*) The same, 31403. (*m*) R.C.M. MS. 2093. (*n*) Paris Conservatoire Lib. MS. 18546. (*o*) The

same, 18547 (in the hand of Thomas Tomkins). (*p*) Elizabeth Rogers's Virginal Book.

All in a garden green. (*b*), (*c*)
Almans :
Monsieur's Alman. (*b*), (*d*) (*c*. 2nd half only)
The Queenes Alman. (*b*)
No. 63 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*)
No. 156 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*), (*d*)
No. 163 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*)
The Barelye Breake. (*c*)
Mr. Bird's Battell. (*c*), (*f*), (*n*), (*p*)
The Bells. (*b*)
Callino Casturame. (*b*), (*g*)
The Carman's Whistle. (*b*), (*c*), (*d*. Ground), (*g*), (*b*), (*l*. The Carter's Whissell)
Corantos :
The French Coranto. (*b*), (*d*)
Second French Coranto. (*d*)
Third French Coranto. (*d*)
No. 241 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*)
Emendemus in melius. (*n*)
Fantasias and Fancies :
No. 8 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*)
No. 52 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*), (*o*)
No. 103 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*), (*c*)
No. 261 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*), (*g*)
No. 41 Nevell Bk. (*c*)
A Fancie. (*m*)
Fantasia. (*m*)
Fantasia. (*o*)
Fortune. (*b*), (*d*)
Galliards :
Sir John Gray's. (*b*)
James Harding. (*b*), (*d*), (*b*)
No. 164 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*)

No. 53 Forster's Bk. (*d*)
Ch. Ch. Oxf. MS. 1175. (*f*)
The Ghost. (*b*)
Gigues :
A Galliard's Gygge. (*c*)
No. 180 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*)
Gipsies Round. (*b*)
Gloria tibi Trinitas. (*o*)
Go from my window. (*d*), (*e*)
Grounds :
Treg(ians) ground. (*b*), (*c*. Hugh Aston's grownde), (*d*), (*g*)
Ladye Nevell's grownde. (*c*)
The Second ground. (*c*)
No. 1 Forster's Bk. (*d*)
No. 19 Forster's Bk., *see* Carman's Whistle.
No. 44 Forster's Bk. (*d*)
No. 45 Forster's Bk. (*d*)
Horn-pipe. (*d*)
The Hunt's up. (*b*), (*c*)
If my complaints (J. Dowland). (*f*)
John, come kisse me now. (*b*)
Kapasse, *see* Qui Passe.
Lavoltas :
La Volta (Thos. Morley). (*b*)
A Levolto. (*b*), (*d*)
A Lesson of Voluntary. (*c*), (*o*. Fantasie)
Libera me Domine. (*n*)
Lord Willobies Welcome home, *see* Rowland.
The Mayden's song. (*b*), (*c*)
Malt's come down. (*b*)
Medley. (*b*)
Miserere. 3 Parts. (*b*), (*g*. Upon a playn-songe)
Miserere. 4 Parts. (*b*), (*g*. In nomine)
O Mistris Mine. (*b*)
Earle of Oxford's March (No. 1 of the ' Battell '). (*b*)
Parson's In nominey. (*d*)

Pavanes and Galliards :
- Bray. (*b*)
- Delight (Edward Johnson). (*b*), (*d*)
- Passamezzo. (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), (*h*)
- Sir Wm. Petre. (*a*), (*c*), (*d*), (*h*. Galliard only)
- Ph. Tr. (*b*), (*d*. Galliard only)
- The Quadran Pavan. (*b*), (*d*), (*g*)
- The Earle of Salisbury. (*a*)
- Nos. 165–6 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*)
- Nos. 167–8 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*), (*c*)
- Nos. 173–4 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*)
- Nos. 252–3 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*), (*c*), (*g*), (*k*)
- Nos. 254–5 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*)
- Nos. 257–8 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*. Fantasia), (*c*), (*d*), (*g*)
- Nos. 16–17 Nevell Bk. (*c*)
- Nos. 18–19 Nevell Bk. (*c*)
- Nos. 20–21 Nevell Bk. (*c*)
- Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 30485, ff. 2, 4. (*g*)

Pavanes :
- Canon. Two parts in one. (*b*), (*c*)
- Lachrymae (J. Dowland). (*b*), (*d*)
- Lady Montegles Pavane. (*b*)
- No. 256 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*)
- No. 23 Nevell Bk. (*c*)
- No. 18 Forster's Bk. (*d*)

Pescodd Time. (*b*)

Preludes :
- No. 1 Parthenia. (*a*), (*g*)
- No. 4 Parthenia. (*a*), (*b*)
- No. 100 Fitzwilliam Bk. (*b*)
- No. 62 Forster's Bk. (*d*)

Qui passe (Kapasse). (*c*), (*d*)

Rowland (Lord Willobies welcome). (*b*), (*c*), (*d*)

Sellinger's Round. (*b*), (*c*)

A Toutch. (*l*)

Ut, mi, re. (*b*)

Ut, mi, re, fa, sol, la. (*b*), (*c*)
Ut, mi, re, fa, sol, la (for two to play). (*o*)
A verse. (*o*)
Voluntaries :
No. 26 Nevell Bk. (*c*)
No. 42 Nevell Bk. (*c*)
Walsingham. (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), (*b*)
Wilson's Wilde (only one note is written). (*d*)
Wolsey's Wilde. (*b*)
The woods so wild. (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), (*g*), (*l*)
Without title :
No. 35 Forster's Bk. (*d*)
No. 36 Forster's Bk. (*d*)
Paris Cons. Lib. MS. 18546. (*n*)

(*c*) Miscellaneous.

Miserere for Organ, Ch. Ch. 371.

Twenty-one compositions, in short score, made 'upon the Fa burden of these playne Songs' (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29996) :

1. Conditor alme.
2. Verbum supernum.
3. Vox clamans.
4. Veni redemptor.
5. Salvator mundi.
6. Christi redemptor.
7. A solis ortu.
8. Sancte Dei pretiose.
9. Bina celestis.
10. Bina celestis.
11. Hostes Herodes.
12. Hostes Herodes.
13. Deus creator omnium.
14. Prima dierum.
15. Eterne rerum conditor.
16. Lucis creator optime.
17. Ex more docti mistico.
18. Christe qui lux.
19. Summi largitor.
20. Audi benigne.
21. Ecce tempus idoneum.

Ut my re (a fragment). Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 32377.
In lute tablature.

Three Fantasias :
1. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29246, fo. 22.
2. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29246, fo. 22 b.
3. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29246, fo. 27 b.

APPENDIX A

LICENCE GRANTED TO THOMAS TALLIS AND WILLIAM BYRD IN 1575

Rot. Pat. 17 Elizabeth, pars 7, m. 2.

Elizabeth by the grace of God, Quene of Englande Fraunce and Ireland

To all printers bokesellers and other officers ministers and subjects greeting. Knowe ye, that we for the especiall affection and good wil that we have and beare to the science of Musicke and for the advancement thereof, by our letters patent dated the xxii of January, in the xvii yere of our raigne have graunted ful priveledge and licence vnto our wel-beloved servaunts Thomas Tallis and William Birde two of the Gentlemen of our Chappell, and to the overlyver of them, and to the assignees of them and over the surviver of them for xxi yeares next ensuing, to imprint any and so many as they will of set songe or songes in partes, either in English, Latine, Frenche, Italian or other tongues that may serve for musicke either in Churche or chamber, or otherwise to be either plaid or soonge, And that they may rule and cause to be ruled by impression any paper to serve for printing or pricking of any songe or songes,[1] and may sell

[1] Thomas Hunt's service is written on paper stamped T. E. and issued under this licence. The licence passed to Byrd after

and utter any printed bokes or papers of any song or songes, or any bookes or quieres of such ruled paper imprinted. Also we straightly by the same forbid all printers bookesellers subjects and strangers, other then is aforesaid to doe any the premisses, or to bring or cause to be brought out of any forren Realmes into any our dominions any songe or songes made and printed in any forren countrie, to sell or put to sale, uppon paine of our high displeasure, And the offender in any of the premisses for every time to forfet to us our heires and successors fortie shillinges, and to the said Thomas Tallis and William Birde or to their assignes and to the assignes of the surviver of them, all and evrie the said bokes papers song or songes, We have also by the same willed and commanded our printers maisters and wardens of the misterie of Stacioners, to assist the said Thomas Tallis and William Birde and their assignes for the dewe executing of the premisses.

APPENDIX B

THE WILL OF WILLIAM BYRD

Copied from a photograph of the original will in Somerset House.

In the name of the most glorious and undevided Trinitye Father sonne holy Goste three distinct persons and one eternall God Amen | I William

Tallis's death, then to Thomas Morley and later to Thomas East. Tenbury MS. 786.

Byrd of Stondon Place in the pish of Stondon in the Countye of Essex gentleman doe now in the 80th yeare of myne age but through ye goodnes of God beeinge of good health and pfect memory make & ordayne this for my last will & Testament: First: I give & beequeth my soule to God Almyghtye my Creattor & redemer and preserver: humblye cravinge his grace and mercye for ye forgivenes of all my Synnes and offences: past psent and to come. And yt I may live and dye a true and pfect member of his holy Catholycke Church wthout wch I beeleve theire is noe Salvation for mee my body to bee honnestly buryed in that pish and place wheire it shall please God to take mee out of this lyve wch I humbly desire yf soe it shall please God maye bee in the pish of Stondon wheire my dwellynge is: And then to bee buried neare unto the place where my wife lyest buryed. or eles wher as God & the tyme shall pmytt & Suffer. And wheire I have beene longe desireous to setle my poore estate in the Fearme of Stondon place accordinge to an awarde latlye made beetweene Catheren Byrde my daughter in law & mee bee a very good Frend to hus both: wch award wee both give our cristian pmisses to pforme. but havinge beene letted & hyndred theirein: by the undutifull obstinancie of one whome I am unwilling to name: do nowe ordayne & disposse of the same as Followeth. First the whole Fearme to remayne to my selfe & my assignes duringe my lyfe: and after my desscease: I give the same to my daughter in law mris Catheren

Byrd for her life : upon the condicõns folowinge vidz : to paye Twenty eight pounds fiftene shillinges & foure pence yearly to m^{r} Anthony Lutor or his assignes for the fee fearme rent And to pay to m^{ris} Dawtrey of dedinghurst 15^{s} shillings yearly for the quitrent of malepdns freehould : Allsoe to paye unto my sonne Thomas Byrde Twenty pounds yearly duringe his life : And to my daughter Rachell Ten pounds a yeare duringe her life And the same peaments to beegine at the next usiall Feasts of peament after the day of my death : And after the disscease of my sayde daughterinlaw m^{ris} Catheren Byrde & of the aforsayde lyffes : I give and beequeth the whole Fearme of stondon place to Thomas Byrde my granchild : sonne of Christofer Byrd my eldest sonne by the sayde Catheren : and to his heyres lawfully beegotten for ever : And for wante of such heires of the sayde Thomas Byrde sonne of y^{e} sayde Christofer : I give the same Fearme of Stondon place to Thomas Byrde my sonne to his heires lawfully beegotten : And for want of such heires : I give the Inheritance of the sayde Fearme to the foure sonnes of my daughter mary Hawksworth wiffe of Henrie Hawksworth gentleman as the are in age & Seniority vidz : First to william Hawksworth & his heires lawfully beegotten And for want of such heires to Henrie Hawksworth his seconde brother his heires lawfully beegotten & For want of such heires to George Hawksworth and his heires lawfully beegotten & for wante of such heires to Iohn Hawksworth the fourth sonne of

y^e^ sayd mary Hawksworth my daughter: And to his heires lawfully beegotten And for want of such heires of y^e^ foure sonnes of mary Hawksworth my daughter & her husband To william hooke sonne unto Rachell Hooke my daughter and to his heires lawfully beegotten and for want of such heires: To the right heires of mee the sayde william Byrde for ever: It I give and beequeth to my daughterinlaw m^ris^ Catheren Byrde & her sonne Thomas Byrde all my goods moveables and unmoveables at stondon place And alsoe all the woodes and Tymber trees wheiresoever the are groinge in & upon y^e^ sayde Farme: upon this condicōn only to see mee honestly buryed and my debts truly discharged to w^ch^ end & porposse: I doe make & ordayne Catheren Byrde my sayde daughterinlaw & Thomas Byrde her sonne whole executors of this my last will & Testament. It I give & bequeth unto my sonne Thomas Byrd all my goods in my lodginge In the Earle of wosters howse in the straund: And wheire I purchassed a ppetuall annytye or rent charge of 20^li^ a yeare of S^r^ Francis Fortescue knight unto 200^li^ bee payde in w^ch^ annyty I have given to Elizabeth Burdet my eldest doughter for her lyfe: I doe now declare how it shall bee dispossed of after my sayde daughters desscease first yf my sayde sonne Thomas Byrde concurr w^th^ this my last will & Testament & except of his Annyty accordinge to y^e^ same: Then I give the one halfe of y^t^ Annyty beeinge Ten pounds a yeare ore one hundreth pound yf it bee payde in: to the sayde Thomas

Byrd his heires executors and assignes And the other halfe of y^t^ annyty I give & beequeth to michaell walton w^th^ mariage of his wiffe Catheren hooke my granchilde for her mariage portion Allwayes ꝑvided y^t^ yf my sonne Thomas Byrd to seeke by lawe or other wayes to disturb or troble my executors & not agree to y^e^ same: Then I doe heireby declare That my will & intention is: That the sayde Thomas Byrde my sonne shall have noe parte of the sayde Annyty: but I doe heireby give y^t^ part of y^e^ annyty That I had given to my sonne Thomas Byrd: to Thomas Byrd my granchild to hym and his heires for ever And havinge now by the leave of god Finished this my last will accordinge to the trew meaninge of the sayde awarde & our christian ꝑmisses: I doe now by this my last will & Testament utterly revocke & annill all former grants writtings & wills as far as in mee lyeth whatsoever is contrary to this my last will & Testament: In wittnes wheirof I the sayd william Byrd have set my hand & seale the Fiftenth day of November in the yeares of y^e^ reigene of our Sowagine lord James by the grace of God Kinge of England France & Ireland the Twenteth and of Scotland Fiftie six defender of the fayth re 1622:

By me Wyllm Byrde

Sealed & delivered in the ꝑsence of
Hen^y^ Hawksworth.

[Proved by Thomas Byrd and Catherine Byrd 30th October 1623.]

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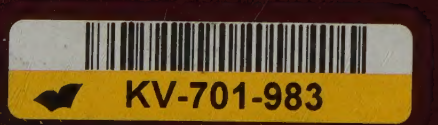
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